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Comparative study of the use of the crowd as presented in the works of the Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen, Konstantin Stanislavsky and Max Reinhardt

John Anthony Mazur
The University of Montana

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE USE OF THE CROWD AS PRESENTED IN THE WORKS OF THE DUKE OF SACHSEN-MEININGEN, KONSTANTIN STANISLAVSKY AND MAX REINHARDT

by

JOHN ANTHONY MAZUR

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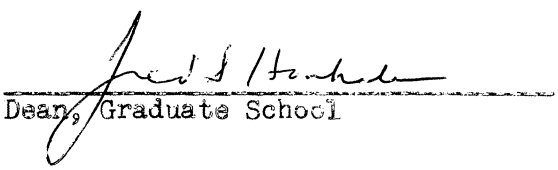

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This is a presentation of the principal directing techniques of the crowd created by the Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen and their influence on Konstantin Stanislavsky and Max Reinhardt.

Chapter one presents a brief biographical sketch of each director's life in the theater, and then examines their major directing and acting theories. The Duke's principal directing techniques of crowd rehearsal and production are compared with those of Stanislavsky and Reinhardt in chapter two. Examples from rehearsals and productions are used to illustrate Stanislavsky's and Reinhardt's recognition of the Duke's crowd ideas. Their major crowd techniques are analysed in chapter three.

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BIOGRAPHY

The Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen

Introduction

The Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen (1826-1914) was born Prince Georg ". . . on April 2, 1826, . . ." in the small German principality of Meiningen,[1] and received an education of the highest order. He was tutored by the court teachers, and at an early age displayed a remarkable interest in art, revealing an equitable talent for drawing and sketching, which later was to be the mainstay of his directional talent.

At the age of eighteen, in 1844, the Duke entered the University of Bonn. He remained for two and a half years, pursuing a liberal arts curriculum, which ranged from military science to art. The Duke's study at the University of Bonn was interspersed with periodic trips about the country. Interested in embellishing his knowledge in art and cultural adventure, the Duke often."... made trips to Paris and Dresden and, for one semester, attended the University of Leipzig, where he became acquainted with the composer Felix Mendelssohn."[2] After the Duke left ". . . the University of Bonne, he went to Berlin as First Lieutenant in the Royal Guards."[3] During a short stay in Berlin

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[1]Max Grube, The Story of the Meininger, ed. Wendell Cole, trans. Ann Marie Koller (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1963), p. xiii.

[2]Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

[3]Ibid., p. xiv.

". . . Prince Georg was ordered by his father to return to Meiningen.[4] There in May, 1850, he married Princess Charlotte, the daughter of Prince Albrecht of Prussia. In 1855, after the birth of their three children, Princess Charlotte died at the age of twenty-four."[5]

His second marriage was to Princess Feodora of Hohenlohe-Langenburg in 1858. The Princess bore the Duke two sons, and then ". . . died in 1872, leaving Georg a widower once more. . . ."[6]

For the third time the Duke wished to marry, but the engagement was not completed without causing some consternation among the nobility. The commotion centered about the Duke's chosen bride, Ellen Franz. Miss Franz was not of noble stock and, furthermore, she was an actress of the Court Theater. To mix with commoners in the Court Theater was an accepted fact among the nobility, but to wed one with nobility, particularly a Prince, was outrageous. Regardless of these outbursts, the Duke was determined to marry Ellen Franz, and that he did. On the eighteenth of March, 1873, Ellen Franz and the Duke were married, and "on the same day Ellen was raised to the nobility as Helene, Baroness von Heldburg."[7]

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[4]Prince Georg was sympathetic towards the Prussian idea of a unified Germany. His father, Duke Bernhard II Eric Freund, was in favor of maintaining his principality and

> ". . . voted in the National Assembly for a military pact with Austria against Prussia. As a result, in September, 1866, Prussia sent two battalions to occupy Meiningen and to force the abdication of Duke Bernhard in favor of his son, Prince Georg, ... Thus through these rather special circumstances Georg became the ruler of Meiningen at the age of forty. As the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen [sic], he served in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and was present in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on the historic occasion in January 1871 when Wilhelm, the King of Prussia, was proclaimed the Emperor of Germany." (Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.)

[5]Ibid., p. xiv.

[6]Ibid., p. xv.

[7]Ibid., p. xvi.

Work in the Theater

Not until after the death of his first wife, Princess Charlotte, in 1855, did the Duke take an express interest in the Court Theater. During the interim between his first wife's death and his second marriage he sublimated his sorrow by touring the continent with an artist friend. Upon his return from travel abroad, the Duke immediately went to work in the Court Theater of Meiningen, which was, at that time, the oldest and most traditional in Meiningen. Duke Georg II's great uncle, Duke Carl, founded this First Court Theater of Meiningen, which was erected in 1776. It was just a stage that was ". . . in his castle at Meiningen. There members of the ducal family and court society had appeared as actors. . . ."[8] It was not uncommon that every court and fashionable society possessed their own theater, for it was the latest vogue sweeping Europe. The finest of the aristocrats played roles, and, for this reason, the early Meiningen Theater was a sparkling success. It was not until 1829 that stock was sold to the populace by Duke Bernhard II, father of Georg II, ". . . for the construction of a Court Theatre. . . ."[9] In the year 1831 the Court Theater was completed and christened by Duke Bernhard II with the production ". . . of the opera Frau Diavolo."[10] It was in this atmosphere that Georg II was raised, probably acting in many of the plays, although none of them were of professional caliber. In the subsequent years of the theater in Meiningen, it was Duke Georg II with his well organized and well disciplined

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[8] Ibid., p. xiii.

[9] Ibid., p. xiii.

[10] Ibid., p. xiii.

acting company that began the theatrical revolution of the European and Russian stage. The form of the old theater was to be remolded to make way for the new German theater.

Modern stage reform was initiated in 1867 when the Duke decided to enter the artistic life of the theater as a director. For a basic foundation of theater theories and ideas, the Duke read and studied deeply the works of theater men of the past. He studied the works and ideas of Richard Wagner (1813-1883), particularly Wagner's Gesemtkunstwerk theory.[11] In this theory Wagner spoke of the uniting of all the arts of the theater; each art of the theater was to have its own expression, and each art was also to weld together the production, making it a harmonious whole. Everything was to work for one effect, the expression of the governing idea of a production. With these ideas, and with the inexorable determination to reorganize the German stage, there was possibly never recorded

> . . . a more dramatic story than that of the cultivated, talented, modest nobleman, Georg II of Sachsen-Meiningen, as aristocratic in his tastes as in his traditions, who made of his small Hof-theatre a stage for a perfect working ensemble.[12]

Through the use of discipline, and with traditional respect for the classics, the Duke began his work. He had high regard for the plays of Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832), and Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), not to mention his love of William Shakespeare (1564-1616), which eventually led him to produce all of the poet's plays,

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[11]Anne Louise Hirt, "The Place of Georg II, Duke of Meiningen in the Unfoldment of Theatre Art" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Drama, University of Southern California), p. 91.

[12]"The World and the Theatre," Theatre Arts Monthly, XIV (December, 1930), 996.

producing Julius Caesar some ". . . three hundred and thirty times in the sixteen years of the tours, ..."[13] While these three playwrights provided the literary qualities for the theater of Meiningen, it was about the actor that the Duke proceeded to build his theater.

The Duke understood plainly that without the actor there was no theater. The Duke said that ". . . the actor was the center of attention and interest. He was the most essential element of design."[14] It was the actor who was the mainstay of the theater, and the theater belonged to no one but him, so long as he behaved and followed the rule of the Duke. It was this type of reasoning and sincerity that eventually led the tiny company of Meiningen to dominate the theater from 1874 to 1890. The main reforms that the Duke was to put into effect were not necessarily for his own glorification, but primarily "'to promote art for the benefit of mankind: . . . .'"[15] Among the myriad reforms that the Duke brought to the theater was that of the single importance of the director. It was the Duke who took the initiative and made the director the principal organizer of the stage, instead of being a back stage monitor and organizer. The Duke believed that

> 'Reforms must come through the regisseur,' . . . . A director must have not only an artistic sense, he must have intelligence and imagination; he must see things as a whole, as a spiritual unity. And he must have authority and an innate force of discipline.[16]

The Duke was principally acknowledged for his theater organization, for his historical accuracy, for his improvement of the acting

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[13]Hirt, op. cit., p. 160.

[14]Ibid., p. 451.

[15]Ibid., p. 149.

[16]Ibid., p. 149.

techniques, and, most of all, for his work with the crowd, although the idea of historical accuracy during a production and the idea of the stage crowd are not to be entirely credited to the Duke.

It is known that when the Duke was traveling about Europe, after the death of his first wife, he saw some of the plays of Charles Kean,[17] who was then stage manager of the Princess Theatre in London during the years of 1851 to 1859.

The view that Kean preceded the Meiningen Company in initiating theatrical reform is supported by Dr. Ernst L. Stahl, and is developed in his book Das Englische Theater im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Dr. Stahl states that Kean possessed good reason for reform. During this time there was a definite disregard for the real elegance of the theater. So disorganized was the acting and so deplorable was the speech, movements, and gestures of the actors, that stage managers were forced sometimes to cut the text and devise unnecessary stage business and sound effects to deflect the eyes and ears of the audience.[18] Because of his failure as an actor, Kean received little encouragement for his ideas, comments, and suggestions as how to improve the acting of his time. When Kean was finally given an opportunity as a stage manager of the Princess Theatre

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[17]Charles Kean (1811-1868) was the son of Edmund Kean (1787-1833). Charles Kean did some acting with his father, and went on to become the director of the Princess Theatre in London from 1851 to 1859. Although Kean was not an excellent actor, he had a sense of organization. His use of historical accuracy and theatrical lavishness revealed his awareness of the value in presenting a unified production. It was here in the Princess Theatre in 1859 that Prince Georg witnessed one of Kean's Shakespearean productions and was very impressed, especially with Kean's use of the crowd.

[18]Huntly Carter, The Theatre of Max Reinhardt (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1914), pp. 76-77.

in London, he immediately established a directing and production style that was to remain until the turn of the century. Ellen Terry commented upon Kean's education, and his theater refinements of his time. She said that he

> . . . had had a classical education, and he could not share the complacency of most actors at the sight of antique Romans in kneebreeches, and other inaccuracies in dress and architecture.[19]

While in London, the Duke witnessed one of Kean's Shakespearean productions, and was impressed with what he saw in terms of a crowd processional and the attempt to align costumes and scenery and acting styles in order to create an accurate as possible Shakespearean production.

In working with the crowd, the Duke proposed three theories, which when carried out proved their integrity, and which later seemed to provide the basis for other contemporary theaters throughout Europe and Russia. The first theory supports the fact that the Duke always believed that the sole authority on the stage was the rule of the director. The Duke advocated that in order to really make the drama respond to new life:

> . . . the theater demanded complete subordination of everything else. For that reason he would not tolerate the star system. "The unconditional and uninterrupted surrender from the first to the last actor at every moment of every situation" was the only way that the drama itself could come to life.[20]

Those who did not conform with the Duke's wishes were no longer participants in the company. Regardless of the early turnover of actors of the old style, the stringent demands of the Duke's company were routine for those of the new generation, but death for those of the old.

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[19] Ibid., p. 76. [20] Hirt, op. cit., p. 151.

The company produced many interesting productions, and for all of the actors who would not submit to the rules of the company, there were always twice as many who were eagerly waiting to take their parts.

Out of the first theory emerged the second theory. The second concerned itself with the use and value of the word empathy which was not really recognized and investigated in its full potential. With the use of empathy, the Duke ". . . wanted the actor to so identify himself with the character he was playing that members of the audience would necessarily do likewise. This was the test of the actor's work."[21]

By coördinating these first two steps, the Duke envisioned the theater as evolving into its ". . . 'fullest possible expression' . . . through action, speech, mood, tempo, scenery, costumes, and make-up, and through building these factors into a harmoniously working unit."[22] These ideas of unity and accuracy would not develop if there remained actors who still could not articulate and move.

From this known fact, the Duke emerged with the third theory, the speech and action theory, which is still followed by the modern stage of today. The Duke advocated that speech and action were the two prominent factors that

> . . . must serve the drama by placing it before the eye and ear of the spectator. If at every moment they expressed the meaning of the author, the result would be a complete pattern, not only of ideas but of changing and colorful moods, the speed of change and the intensity of the mood depending upon the intelligence and feeling of the director. Whoever has a sense of the whole will naturally strike the right speed by increasing the action here or slowing it there.[23]

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[21] Ibid., p. 152.

[22] Ibid., p. 152.

[23] Ibid., pp. 152-153.

The Duke also introduced a more clear and natural means of theater speech. Under his guidance, his company acquired the reputation of being known as the "... company of speakers."[24] Their diction and dialogue were so precisely spoken that anyone in the theater could hear and understand them, no matter where they sat or stood. This was the result of rehearsal and disciplinary procedures practiced by the Meininger.

With ample time to rehearse plays, the Duke was prone to try new ideas of organizing his productions. He worked on perfecting the ideas of historical accuracy of costume and scenery and their detailed and harmonious relationships with the actors. To produce this harmony, the Duke was unique, sketching almost all of the settings, scenes, poses, and picture groupings of all the actors in a play. His love of art, instilled in him by his first court instructor, was seen in the completeness of his sketches. He invariably caught the type of character, scene setting, and costume that he was looking for during the rehearsal.

It was during these rehearsals that the Duke developed his sterling ideas of movement which led to the eventual formation of the crowd. The crowd turned out to be the ideal practice ground for the young enthusiastic actors, and served to refurbish basic techniques, and to perfect the humility of the experienced actors. The crowd was without doubt the core of the Meininger company; without it there would not have been the superlative performances of that company. It was the crowd's unison of movement, speech, gesture, and individual characterization that was remembered by its audiences, and also did much to influence

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[24]Carter, op. cit., p. 77.

the many aspiring directors of that time. In a letter written by André Antoine[25] (1858-1943) to his friend Francisque Sarcey (1827-1899), Antoine praised the Duke's crowd scenes and their

> . . . sensation of a multitude. . . . Their crowds are not like ours, composed of elements picked haphazard, working-men hired for dress rehearsals, badly clothed, and unaccustomed to wearing strange and uncomfortable costumes, especially when they are exact. Immobility is almost always required of the crowds on our stage, whereas the supernumeraries of the Meininger must act and mime their characters.[26]

This naturalness of movement and the use of mime was one of the most stringent requirements of the company, and it was one of the first ideas that the Duke set forth. The Duke also introduced early rehearsals with props and costumes and the completed scenic design. With these requirements, it was no wonder that the Meininger company made a lasting impression on the European stage.

Contributions

Only after the members of the Court Theater recognized the value in acknowledging the supremacy of the director did the Duke begin to introduce other new and revolutionary innovations to the art of theater direction. He directed and sketched all of the scenery for his productions, as his talent and ideas of the theater gave him an uncanny control

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[25]André Antoine (1858-1943) was an outstanding figure in the revolution of the theater. He founded the Théâtre-Libre in October of 1887, and made significant reforms concerning French acting and scenic design. He encouraged new playwrights and introduced Henrik Johan Ibsen (1828-1906) and August Strindberg (1849-1912) to the French theater. Antoine's theater influence also spread to Germany, Russia, England and America.

[26]Samuel Montefiore Waxman, Antoine and the Théâtre-Libre (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 95.

and comprehension of scenic art and its need for improvement. His contributions concerning acting techniques, and refinements of speech, movement, and pantomime, along with his utilitarian and aesthetic use of the crowd reorganized and elevated the art of direction and the art of theater in general. The Duke vividly supported his principle of historical accuracy to the point that all of his productions ". . . were based on scholarship; anyone who attended them gained a picture of the times in which the play was set."[27] Almost all of his ideas pertaining to the use of the crowd were revolutionary, especially his concept of picturization, which was a marvelous improvement to the artistry of staging crowd scenes. Through the use of picturization, the Duke was able to create, externally, a more life-like picture of the characters, their movements, their gestures, their poses, and their actions. His insistence on production harmony led to his concept that

> . . . every dramatic action [has] its full poetic rights by giving it an appropriate scenic frame, with the result that the performance of every drama is an individual and harmonious work of art.[28]

By advocating Wagner's Gesamtkunstwerk theory, the Duke's productions achieved harmonious excellence. The ideas that the Duke and his company set forth prepared the way for the theater of the realistic and naturalistic director, and if there is any one quality which may summarize the Duke's work, it was his unremitting quest for truth. For the Duke "truth was everything." In all of the years, in all of his productions and

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[27]Grube, op. cit., p. 48.

[28]Max Reinhardt and His Theatre, ed. Oliver M. Sayler, trans. M. S. Gudernatsch (New York: Brentano's, 1924), p. 323.

ideas, the element of truth was ever present. It was more than an obsession with him, it was a theater disease. His quest for theater perfection and his genuine theater scholarship were among the many qualities that made the Duke the unprecedented theater director of his time. The significance of his contributions to the theater earned for him and his Court Theater of Meiningen an irrefutable place of distinction in the annals of theater history. So stimulating and refreshing were the Duke's concepts that Stanislavsky did not hesitate to make them the foundation principles upon which he built his Moscow Art Theatre. Like the Duke, Stanislavsky too shared the artistic obsession of striving for truthfulness of a production, as well as the truthfulness of the actor's role in it.

Konstantin Stanislavsky

Introduction

Konstantin Sergeivich Stanislavsky (1863-1938) was born into the upper middle class society of Russia. His father, whose surname was Alexeiev, was a prominent merchant and was of pure Russian heritage.[29] The early days of Stanislavsky's family life were filled with much enjoyment, pleasant memories of games in the Alexeiev garden, elegant balls, and social gatherings in the Alexeiev home. He remembered the early days as the generation of self-made men:

> The generation to which . . . [his] parents belonged consisted of people who had already crossed the threshold of culture, . . .

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[29]Konstantin Stanislavsky, My Life in Art, trans. J. J. Robbins (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1956), p. 21.

> they did not receive the benefits of higher education, . . . the majority . . . were educated privately, still [they] made much of culture their own, thanks to their innate abilities.[30]

During his youth Stanislavsky was surrounded with music, dancing, and singing. Often he was taken to the theater, the opera, and the ballet, and, occasionally, the circus. However, during his young saturation with culture, it was the small theater built on his father's estate for the performances of the family plays, parties, and meetings that provided Stanislavsky with his tangible indoctrination to culture and the stage. The theater was known as the Alexeiev Circle, but to Stanislavsky it was known as the

> . . . Imperial Little Theatre which was nicknamed "The House of Shtchepkin," just as the Paris Comédie Française was dubbed "The House of Molière." The teachings of Shtchepkin[31] still lived within the walls of that theatre; they were striking in their simplicity and amazing in their artistic truth. There was the real atmosphere of art, which formed a broad, free, artistic soul better than any prisonlike academy could. I can bravely affirm that I received my education not in the gymnasia [illegible] in the Little Theatre. I prepared myself for every performance there.[32]

With this early introduction to the theater, and the surrounding atmosphere in which it was nourished, it was no wonder that Stanislavsky was caught in its inescapable vices [illegible] in the glory of the Moscow Art Theatre.

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[30] Ibid., p. 12.

[31] Mikhail Semenovich Shtchepkin (1788-1863) was born a serf. He was one of the first great Russian actors, and the first to oppress the pseudo classical style of Russian acting. He is regarded as the ". . . 'father of realism' because he was the first to introduce truthful and realistic acting into the Russian theater." (Sonia Moore, The Stanislavsky Method [New York: Viking Press, 1960], p. 4.)

[32] Stanislavsky, op. cit., p. 91.

After Stanislavsky left the gymnasia, he was set on becoming an actor, but was temporarily detained by the suggestion of his uncle and cousin who told him to get a job as a social worker in one of the many needy groups about Moscow. However, this work was to become one of the basic links in his development as an actor, but, at the beginning, the job was viewed with contempt and revulsion. Nevertheless, Stanislavsky acquiesced, but did not remain long, because of a vacancy for a director at the Russian Musical Society and Conservatory, a post being abandoned by his cousin. Stanislavsky immediately applied, and, because the Society could not fill the position with someone notable, and because they needed someone immediately, Stanislavsky was accepted. However, his desire to act was very strong and despite his position at the Russian Musical Society and Conservatory, with such notables as Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840-1893), Sergei Ivanovich Taneiev (1856-1915), and Vassily Ilyich Safonov (1852-1918),[33] Stanislavsky found himself acting with some of the less reputable companies in Russia. Whenever anyone asked him why he wanted to act with such disreputable companies, his reply was:

> What could I do? There were no other places to act, and I so wanted to act. . . . And I, a man of position, a director of the Russian Musical Society, found that it was dangerous for my reputation if I appeared. It was necessary to hide behind some pseudonym. I sought a strange name, thinking that it would hide my real identity. I had known an amateur by the name of Doctor Stanislavski. He had stopped playing, and I decided to adopt his name, thinking that behind a name as Polish as Stanislavski no one could ever recognize me.[34]

Of course, the family was in the audience and saw their son as the lecherous lover in a baudy French farce, and by the standards of the

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[33] Ibid., pp. 76-77. [34] Ibid., p. 146.

Alexeiev household and their early theater, this performance of the young and dashing, daring gallant did not meet with their approval. Anyway, how did Stanislavsky imagine that he could hide his tall and awkward frame from those who really knew him?[35] His father said that if he wanted to act so badly he should please associate with ". . . a decent dramatic circle and a decent repertoire, but for God's sake, don't appear in such trash as the play last night."[36]

Work in the Theater

After many informative years of acting and directing in some of the finest theater societies of Moscow, such as the Mamontov Circle[37] and The Society of Art and Literature,[38] Stanislavsky said that he

> . . . came to know the most talented amateurs of Moscow, men and women who later became leading figures in our amateur circle--The Society of Art and Literature, and still later passed into the ranks of the Mowcow Art Theatre. . . .[39]

It was during the first year of The Society of Art and Literature that Stanislavsky met his future wife. It was ". . . M. P. Perevozchikova, whose stage name was Lilina, . . ."[40] that Stanislavsky often cast as his leading lady. At the time, Stanislavsky said that "it seems that

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[35] Ibid., p. 146. [36] Ibid., p. 147.

[37] The home of philanthropist and Russian railroad mogul Savva Ivanovich Mamontov ". . . was a sanctuary for all young and talented painters, sculptors, actors, musicians, singers and dancers." (Ibid., p. 141.)

[38] The Society of Art and Literature was established in 1888. It was to be a ". . . creation of a large society that might unite all amateurs into one dramatic circle and bring all other artists in Moscow under the roof of one club. . . ." (Ibid., p. 148.)

[39] Ibid., p. 147. [40] Ibid., p. 177.

we were in love with each other, but did not know it, but we were told of it by the public. We kissed each other too naturally, ..."[41] So at the end of The Society of Art and Literature's first season, Stanislavsky and his leading lady, Lilina, were married, on the fifth of July in 1889.[42] In the years following their marriage, Stanislavsky pursued his career in the theater, and also held an office job in his father's factory, until his work in the theater permanently interrupted his factory duties. During the next ten years two really important events took place which left the young director indelible goals: one was the second tour of the Meiningen company to Moscow in 1890, and the second was the birth of the Moscow Art Theatre.

Like the Duke, Stanislavsky also was possessed with the idea of finding the truth in a scene, and the truth in developing an actor's character. In approaching this truth obsession, Stanislavsky was constantly guided by the first principles of the Little Theatre which was rich in the teachings of Shtchepkin, who said, "'It is not important that you play well or ill; it is important that you play truthfully.'"[43] This was possibly the first theory that Stanislavsky followed in his early acting and directing career which later became the basis of the Moscow Art Theatre and the dominating element in the development of his acting system. There were other theories and influences which Stanislavsky came in contact with while working with the different amateur societies in Moscow, and discipline and order were next in line. They

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[41] Ibid., p. 177.

[42] Ibid., p. 177.

[43] Ibid., p. 88.

became the source of his drive to develop a character that was truthful. In search of this truthful and uninhibited expression of character, Stanislavsky recalled his lead role in The Society of Art and Literature's première production on December 8, 1888 of ". . . Pissemsky's[44] play of Russian peasant life, Bitter Fate."[45] Stanislavsky accredited his moderately successful emotional characterization to his attempt to control his bodily movements. He recalled that he

> . . . succeeded in freeing his body from muscular spasms by localizing the strain in a single well-defined centre, such as his fingers or toes or diaphragm or, as Stanislavsky hastens to add, "what I believed to be my diaphragm at the time." The result, of course, was that he drove his fingernails into his hands till they bled or pressed his toes into the floor with all the weight of his body, leaving bloodstains on his socks and shoes. But by creating this localized strain, he freed the rest of his body from tension so that he could stand on the stage without shifting from foot to foot or making any other unnecessary movements.[46]

In continuing with this work, and hit or miss experiments, Stanislavsky discovered that ". . . the calmer and more controlled his body was on stage, the more liable was he to substitute facial expression, intonation and look for gesture."[47] Many people were impressed at the change in some of his acting habits and were impressed with some of his later roles with The Society of Art and Literature.

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[44]Alexei Feofilactovitch Pissemsky (1820-1881) was ". . . one of the most famous Russian authors; after Tolstoy's "Power of Darkness" it [Bitter Fate] is the best drama of our [Russian] peasants." (Ibid., p. 169.)

[45]David Magarshack, Stanislavsky a Life (New York: Chanticleer Press, 1951), p. 65.

[46]Ibid., p. 65.

[47]Ibid., p. 66.

The real work of Stanislavsky began after his meeting with Nemirovich-Danchenko.[48] This historic rendezvous took place when

> Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko met at the Slav Bazaar at two o'clock in the afternoon on June 22nd, 1897, and sat discussing their scheme for a new and revolutionary theatre till eight o'clock the following morning.[49]

The reason for the formation of the Moscow Art Theatre was to stimulate a particular kind of art and a company possibly like that of the Duke's, one that would perhaps follow their pattern of theater and rid the theater of the old forms that still existed in Russia, and were quite similar to those that the Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen attempted to eradicate from the boards.[50] It was certainly not uncommon to witness a different scene design and mise en scène for every act of a particular play, as was sometimes done at the Mamontov Circle. But it was Stanislavsky's idea to name the new theater the Art Theatre, stressing that acting was an art, and it should be prepared, treated, and performed as such.

Stanislavsky chose Alexei Konstantinovich Tolstoy's[51] (1817-1875)

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[48]Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirvich-Danchenko (1859-1943) was a teacher at the dramatic school supported by the Russian Philharmonic Society, and was the co-founder of the Moscow Art Theatre. In the Moscow Art Theatre, he had all literary and managerial duties, and during 1917 he founded the Musical Studio, proving that Stanislavsky's acting system could effectively be applied to the opera and the operetta. Stanislavsky was always indebted to Danchenko because without his influence "... neither Chekhov nor Gorky would have come to the Moscow Art Theatre." (Margarshack, op. cit., p. 287.)

[49]Magarshack, op. cit., p. 152.

[50]Norris Houghton, Moscow Rehearsals (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), p. 53.

[51]Tolstoy was the author of The Death of Ivan the Terrible and Tsar Boris. These plays along with Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich formed a trilogy that captured the era of feudal Russia. The plays are noted for their oriental flavor and for their crowd scenes.

Tsar Fyodor for the première production of the Moscow Art Theatre. He was so excited and so concerned with the idea of an Art Theatre, and the perfection of its work, that he conducted a rather long rehearsal schedule. Before the play met with Stanislavsky's approval it numbered over seventy severe rehearsals. He wanted to give the Russian audience a taste of real perfection of art, and make the première production of the Moscow Art Theatre a success. Although the Russian authorities had censored the play from the day of its completion, they complied with the wishes of the Art Theatre and lifted the censorship. The production was to première October 14, 1898.

Tsar Fyodor was a marvelous success, especially its crowd scenes. It seemed that Stanislavsky concentrated his efforts on emulating the Meiningen troupe in exactitude of design, costumes, and precise and audible elocution. In this first performance, and in subsequent performances, the Moscow Art Theatre was meaningfully aware of the "... simplicity of speech and action, use of actual things to surround the actor, the truthful and exact portrayal of emotions."[52] It was not until later in his career that Stanislavsky truly admitted that "the Moscow Art Theatre is one of the chief supporters of the idea of a theatre of the actor, ..."[53] This concept was not authenticated until he completed his acting system and was certain of its potential in aiding the actor. Until he was satisfied, Stanislavsky maintained his autocratic directorship. It was obvious that

> ... Stanislavsky remained a producer-autocrat for only as long as his inner development as an artist was still in a rudimentary

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[52]Houghton, op. cit., pp. 53-54. [53]Ibid., p. 51.

> stage; the moment he reversed his method of going from the outer to the inner, he also abandoned his external methods of production and began to evolve his "system" of acting which is quite incompatible with the conception of the producer-autocrat.[54]

The reasons for using this directing approach were not made at that moment. It was an accumulation and frustration of all of his work in the past, and his ultimate desire to produce "good" theater. He honestly stated that

> . . . we amateurs together with our director were in the same predicament as Kronek [sic] and the Meiningen Players. We also wanted to give luxurious performances, to uncover great thoughts and emotions, and because we did not have ready actors, we were to put the whole power into the hands of the stage director. . . . This is why the despotism of the Meiningen stage directors seemed to me to be grounded in necessity. I sympathized with Kronek [sic] and tried to learn his methods of work.[55]

During the first years in the Moscow Art Theatre, Stanislavsky continued to persist in his despotic directing techniques. He was the sole commander in charge of creating the mise en scène, with little or no help from the actor. His reason was that the actor in the Moscow Art Theatre was as yet not able to develop his own role, particularly with the lucidity and depth which Stanislavsky perceived it. The prompt book was another means by which Stanislavsky maintained discipline in his company; it was also another aid in developing his actors and the key to producing a unified and a truthful production.

Possessed by the idea of the truthfulness of a production, Stanislavsky's work in the theater became more intensified, slowly leading him to the distant end of naturalism. One of the actors of the First

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[54]Magarshack, op. cit., p. 174.

[55]Stanislavsky, op. cit., p. 199.

Studio, Michael Alexandrovich Tchekhov (1891-1955) and the nephew of Anton Pavlovich Tchekhov (1860-1904), recorded that Stanislavsky

> . . . was obsessed with, virtually possessed by, what he called the "feeling of truth." He could accept many things with which to express his art, even those that were inimical to him or against his principles, if he believed they were true; that is, true to life.[56]

It was this obsession which led Stanislavsky into naturalism, and the successful but financially exorbitant production of Julius Caesar.

Julius Caesar was a marvelous production, and it took Stanislavsky and his scenic crew over three years to accumulate the necessary information to reveal the authenticity of the setting, costume, speech, movement, gesture, and pose in detail. When the production was performed during the 1905 tour of Western Europe, it amazed its audiences.[57] No place on the continent did anyone imagine that such standards of theater perfection existed. Thus, the success of the Moscow Art Theatre in Europe was achieved, but in Moscow it was struggling to subsist.

In Russia the success of the Moscow Art Theatre depended on the eradication of the realistic and naturalistic genre. It was proclaimed that the Moscow Art Theatre was a realistic and naturalistic theater and capable of only that style of production, which would surely doom it to theatrical oblivion. But the Moscow Art Theatre supported the theory of realism and representation less all its theatrical banalities. And in defense of the Moscow Art Theatre's digression, Stanislavsky said that

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[56]Charles Leonard (compiler), Michael Chekhov's to the Director and Playwright (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 38.

[57]Carter, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

> . . . the Moscow Art Theatre was sometimes misunderstood. "Like all revolutionists," he says, "we broke with the old and exaggerated the new. All that was new was good simply because it was new. Those who think that we sought for naturalism on the stage are mistaken. We never leaned toward such a principle. Always, then as well as now, we sought for inner truth, for the truth of feeling and experience; . . . ."[58]

The Moscow Art Theatre did not remain forever in the depths of naturalism, and immediately after the successful tour of Western Europe in 1905, the Moscow Art Theatre began anew. The keynote to its second phase was a style based on simplicity and truth of productions, which involved them in mysticism, symbolism, and impressionism.[59] Their first objective was to restage The Sea Gull; it was the success of The Sea Gull that spelled the success of the Moscow Art Theatre, and established its permanency.

It was Stanislavsky who painfully but inevitably shed his obsession for naturalism for more challenging goals. His emergence from naturalism was part of his development, and it brought him to proclaim ". . . two principles which with time were to take him further and further away from the practices of the Meiningen company."[60] Stanislavsky's revelation was that

> . . . there was no need for a faithful reproduction of furniture, utensils, etc., on the stage and that what he needed was merely a number of vivid "spots", which would attract attention of the audience to the exclusion of everything else. Similarly it was not necessary for the sets to be absolutely faithful historically. The important thing was that the audience should believe in the authenticity of the scene.[61]

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[58]Donald Clive Stuart, The Development of Dramatic Art (2nd ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960), p. 605.

[59]Houghton, op. cit., p. 55.

[60]Magarshack, op. cit., p. 164.

[61]Ibid., pp. 164-165.

The success of the Moscow Art Theatre and of its productions was due to Stanislavsky's persistence for truth, whether it was external or internal, of a production, or of an actor's character.

Contributions

Stanislavsky's achievement in establishing the Moscow Art Theatre by which he continued to elevate the decadent Russian theater standards was among one of his foremost contributions to the theater world. Continuously seeking to improve theater standards, Stanislavsky widened his theater outlook and developed a more mature directorial style, which became the new model for new theater directorship. With the development of his acting system, he established himself as a leading and innovating force in the modern theater movement. His patience and perseverance in working with the actor enabled him to produce a perfection of acting which was never before witnessed on any stage. He was equally successful with the results of his crowd scenes, and aesthetically and politically, the crowd was of vital significance to Stanislavsky. It became a vital part of the Moscow Art Theatre, following closely the examples set forth by the Meininger, but more refined in terms of characterization and deportment. Provocative and sublime, Stanislavsky's crowd scenes displayed eloquence and poise in execution, but always took a secondary position to the success of his acting system. Through his work and contributions, Stanislavsky is acknowledged as one of the principal leaders of the twentieth century stage, an achievement which emerged from his insatiable quest for perfection concerning all facets of theater. The very same qualities were also to become the hallmark of one of Germany's greatest theater directors, Max Reinhardt.

Max Reinhardt

Introduction

Max Reinhardt (1873-1943) was born of a bourgeois family ". . . on 9 September . . . in Baden near Vienna. . . . "[62] His father was Wilhelm Goldman, and was of Hebrew heritage. Reinhardt was the eldest of a thriving family of eight, and, until late in life, was terribly shy and tacit.

Reinhardt was educated at the Untergymnasium, and engaged in the "homemade" puppet theater that his father and mother built for the children's entertainment. Young Reinhardt was much amused at the myriad grimaces that the little puppet could be shaped into; often his mother caught him before the mirror trying to imitate the contorted grimaces of the puppet.[63]

Through the puppet stage, Reinhardt became aware of the theater. His first real experience with the theater was when he and his brother, Edmund, who was later to become Reinhardt's business manager, surreptitiously made their way into the Brünn Theater and witnessed their first live performance.[64] After that independent experience, Reinhardt became enamored with the theater, and his secret desire was to act.

Reinhardt was regarded by his family and friends as extremely reserved and sensitive. He admitted this, and later recalled a particular

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[62]Gusti Adler, Max Reinhardt Sein Leben (Salzburg: Festungsverlag, 1964), p. 7.

[63]Ibid., p. 8.

[64]Ibid., p. 9.

event in the Prater Theater in Vienna that helped remove some of his introverted characteristics.

While in the lobby, during the intermission of a play, people were milling about and socializing; but when the Emperor Franz Joseph entered the lobby, the crowd responded spontaneously with an uncontrollable emotional outburst. In the outburst, Reinhardt found himself spontaneously participating with the cheering and applauding crowd. He was part of the ovation, and almost at once his inhibitions seemed to vanish. His desire to act and become part of the theater were set free, but his father harbored other plans.[65]

After graduation from the Untergymnasium, Reinhardt's father wanted his son to work in the nearby bank. At the time, Austria was faced with a major financial crisis, and the Goldman's, who never before had to worry about financial dilemmas, suddenly needed all the income that they could acquire. However, crisis or no crisis, Reinhardt was determined that he was not going to work in the bank of Baden. He went to his Aunt Julie, his father's sister, and told her of his desire; she encouraged him and told him to go and act.[66]

Immediately Reinhardt enrolled in the ". . . School of Acting of the Vienna Conservatorium, ..."[67] It was shortly after his enrollment that Otto Abrahamsohn Brahm[68] (1856-1912), who in 1890 was touring

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[65] Ibid., p. 10.

[66] Ibid., p. 11.

[67] Carter, op. cit., p. 35.

[68] Brahm was a literary critic who expressed a great interest in the German theater. He was inspired by the work of Antoine and his Théâtre-Libre and established the German equivalent in the Freie Bühne in 1889. Brahm persisted in naturalistic direction even after he

Austria in search of fresh talent for his theater in Berlin, saw a performance of the Vienna Conservatorium. He made a note of Reinhardt's originality and detail of characterization, movement and gesture, and thought that Reinhardt would some day be ideal for his school of realism. Brahm was in no hurry, and wanted young Reinhardt to gain more acting experience and technique. It was not until 1892, when Reinhardt was playing in the Salzburg Theater, and had gained the professional polish that was required of him, that Brahm hired him and took him to Berlin.[69]

Brahm, who was a director in the Deutsches Theater and the inaugurator of German naturalistic direction, founded the Freie Bühne, which represented the "free theater movement" in Germany, in 1889. Under him, Reinhardt was taught the techniques of the naturalistic stage. The Freie Bühne was a ". . . dramatic institution answering in some respects to the London Stage Society. Here he [Reinhardt] remained, giving his naturalistic and psychological renderings of parts, and acquiring craftsmanship. . ."[70] of sterling quality. Soon Reinhardt appeared regularly on the stage of the Deutsches Theater and achieved recognition as one of the finest character actors in Berlin.[71]

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affiliated the Freie Bühne with the Deutsches Theater in 1885. He, like Antoine, introduced Ibsen, Strindberg, and Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946) to the German theater public. He did much to free German theater from outmoded traditions.

[69]Carter, op. cit., p. 36.

[70]Ibid., p. 38.

[71]George Freedley and John A. Reeves, A History of the Theatre (New York: Crown Publishers, 1955), p. 528.

Work in the Theater

Between the years of 1902 and 1905, Reinhardt terminated his acting career and began directing. He left the stage of naturalism for an ". . . 'Ueberbrettl' (or, so-called, 'Cabaret') movement which had suddenly sprung up, and was attracting the attention of live exponents of the new spirit in drama, art, and literature. . . ."[72] The idea of the cabaret movement was intimacy with the audience, and"'. . . making it more of a social affair of the drawing-room than of the theatre.'"[73]

The cabaret that Reinhardt began directing in was known as the Brille (the Spectacles). It was here that Reinhardt and "Cronys" were caught up in the new movement. He and his friends were determined to make their mark in the theater. They ". . . met together in a restaurant in the Lessingstrasse, where they founded . . . [Die] 'Brille,' much as Whistler and his confrères used to meet in the Six Bells at Chelsea, where the Chelsea Arts Club was founded."[74] It was in the new cabaret movement that

> . . . Reinhardt first became possessed of the idea of intimacy. The "Brille" flourished. It gave Reinhardt full scope for his original ideas, and its members grew in number and quality. Soon this tavern-born example of originality, sense, and imagination outgrew its design, and a larger and more ambitious one, . . . , was outlined. It emerged under the title of "Schall und Rauch" (Sound and Smoke), and proved to be based on more solid qualities than its title implies.[75]

From the ventures of the Schall und Rauch in 1901, Reinhardt and his companions moved to the Künstlerhaus located on Bellevuestrasse in

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[72]Carter, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[73]Ibid., p. 39.

[74]Ibid., p. 40.

[75]Ibid., p. 40.

Berlin. Under the direction of Reinhardt, the group persisted in their raucous, imaginative, and entertaining repertory of social satire, singing, and dancing.[76]

From the Schall und Rauch, Reinhardt's group of entertainers of Bohemian fashion gave birth to the Kleines (Small) Theater. Here Reinhardt achieved his first successes as a director. Such plays as Strindberg's Rausch, and Oscar Wilde's Salome (which was censored, but Reinhardt evaded the censorship by performing the play privately) were directed exquisitely.[77]

After leaving Otto Brahm in the first month of 1903, Reinhardt's talent and success became increasingly evident. This was acknowledged in the January 23, 1903, production of Gorky's The Lower Depths, which immediately brought Reinhardt public recognition and established him as a director.[78] His success in the Kleines Theater led to his directorship of the Neues (New) Theater, and between the two theaters Reinhardt directed over fifty plays during the 1902-1905 period, organizing and producing a repertory of classical and contemporary plays.[79]

In the Neues Theater on January 31, 1905, Reinhardt's production of Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream brought him to the top position of theater leadership. This production was "full of life, color, music and joy, it had a message that did away in one evening with all the voluptuous pessimism and sordidness of the preceding fifteen or

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[76]Ibid., p. 40.

[77]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[78]Sayler, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

[79]Toby Cole and Helen Krech Chinoy, Actors on Acting (3rd ed. rev.; New York: Crown Publishers, 1949), p. 273.

twenty years of naturalism."[80] With this Shakespearean success, which was the climax of Reinhardt's early theater work, Reinhardt was offered the most coveted theater position in all Germany, the directorship of the Deutsches Theater.

While at the Deutsches Theater, Reinhardt continued his search for a new stage. In the Deutches he produced overt productions with an abundance of color, light, sound, music, and movement; and in the Kammerspiele, a converted dance hall next to the Deutsches Theater, he produced quiet and intriguing productions, abounding in intimacy and empathy. With his assignment to the Deutsches Theater, Reinhardt had captured center stage of the German and world theater, a position he did not relinquish, and held unchallenged, until his death.

Reinhardt's theater work was basically concerned with

> . . . carrying on the improvement in the artistic, technical and economic condition of the German stage--an improvement due, on the one hand, to the reforms introduced by the Duke of Meiningen, in the Court Theatre at Meiningen, and, on the other hand, to the ideals realized at Bayreuth by Richard Wagner.[81]

But it was naturalism that pushed Reinhardt on to finding new forms for the theater. Arthur Kahane, who was Reinhardt's literary adviser, stated that ". . . it was naturalism which influenced his development, sharpening his sense for reality, yet simultaneously creating in him a longing for an art more fanciful."[82]

Beginning with the intricacies of realism and naturalism, Reinhardt's productions ran the gamut of directorial and artistic amazement.

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[80]Sayler, op. cit., p. 7.

[81]Carter, op. cit., p. 74.

[82]Sayler, op. cit., p. 79.

Rudolf Kommer, Reinhardt's assistant director, said that Reinhardt ". . . was labeled a neo-romanticist, an impressionist, a neo-impressionist, a symbolist, an eclectic par excellence, and even an 'Austrian hedonist.'"[83] Reinhardt was the type of director ". . . who played on very generalized emotions through the theatrical devices of light, color, mass movement, and music."[84] He experimented with every kind of drama, while giving considerable contemplation to the expressionists genre in which he created ". . . a new social integration, . . ."[85] emerging with the concept of the Schauspielhaus.

With the Schauspielhaus theory the audience was considered and treated as a second crowd. With this approach, Reinhardt fulfilled his Schall und Rauch theory--the audience sharing in the oneness of the actor's experience. There, in the Schauspielhaus, were expressed the really great passions of the theater; the passions of great love, humanity, power, greed, hate, and laughter were revealed through the actor's expression of the play. As the audience shared in these passions, their insignificant and paltry problems of their life dissipated. Again with one swoop, Reinhardt captured the resplendent fulfillment of the audience and actor relationship; and this was done with a unity of setting, movement, and lighting, depicting the unified participation of the Greek theater.[86]

Reinhardt's idea of intimacy and unified audience participation

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[83] Ibid., p. 4.

[84] Toby Cole and Helen Krich Chinoy, Directors on Directing (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), pp. 52-53.

[85] Ibid., p. 53.

[86] Ibid., p. 52.

probably originated in the early days of the "Brille" with its improvisational freedom. Here the people, while eating and drinking, participated in the song, dance, and the acting skits of the entertainers. Reinhardt probably remembered the genuineness of this different free form, and its result upon the actor and the audience. In an effort to recapture this audience-actor participation and communication, he ventured into the realm of pantomime, which became another new and rewarding element in his theater. Gesture and movement harmonized to a musical score became the successful formula of the Reinhardt pantomimic productions. Reinhardt theorized that without the encumbrance of the spoken word and with the harmony of movement, gesture, and music he could once again recapture the mood of the "Brille", but on a much larger scale. However, when directing a pantomimic production on a stage all elements were taken into consideration:

> A pantomime can not be reproduced like a play on any stage, independent of its size and shape and without consideration of the size and shape of the auditorium. Space, music, and acting must be thoroughly correlated, must become an indivisible unit, a living organism with its own laws and necessities. The play, the music and the acting in any pantomime are, algebraically speaking, functions of the space. The slightest variation of any distance necessitates a corresponding change in the music, in the movements of the actors, in the arrangements of the producer.[87]

This pantomimic theory was very special to Reinhardt, and eventually blossomed into his dream of the Schauspielhaus--a theater built on the

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[87]George Halasz's "Max Reinhardt" program notes for Max Reinhardt's 1924 New York production of The Miracle. These program notes are taken from the Private Collections Division of the University of Southern California Library, March 24, 1965.

Greek style with the Greek concept of actor-audience participation. However, before this dream materialized, his pantomime theory had to prove its effectiveness, and that it did in Reinhardt's first pantomimic production entitled Sumurûn--an Eastern story ". . . partly derived from the Tales of the Arabian Nights, by Friedrich Freska."[88]

The first production of Sumurûn was performed in the Kammerspiele on April 22, 1910. Reinhardt's idea of arena staging was a first in European theater and marked another step towards his search for a new stage. This pantomime play was then performed January 30, 1911, at the London Coliseum, and ". . . unprejudiced observers frankly admitted that the unfolding of the drama in mime without the spoken word was extraordinarily effective."[89]

Perhaps in Reinhardt's venture with mime plays, it may be assumed that he thought

> . . . it is time the closure was put on articulate sounds, especially in the theatre and parliament, and full scope be given to man's desire to express his definite thoughts and emotions by gesture. In pursuit of his mimetic idea that every possible human emotion should be expressed by action, he cast Sumurûn with his most distinguished actors and actresses, ...[90]

With his omnipotent authority, Reinhardt theorized with impunity. He believed that scenery was of minor importance and that the most important element of the production was the actor. He acknowledged that the actor was the cornerstone of the theater, and that it was ". . . about him

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[88]Carter, op. cit., p. 200.

[89]Ernest Stern, My Life, My Stage (London: Gollancz Ltd., 1951), p. 87.

[90]Carter, op. cit., p. 198.

that you build up your spectacle."[91] Reinhardt's theater philosophy was that there are no rules to which he was to succumb.[92] When he was directing at the various theaters in Berlin, anyone could readily find out what new theories and ideas Reinhardt was forming or disregarding by reading the Blätter des Deutschen Theater.

The Blätter des Deutschen Theater was the official paper of the Deutsches Theater in which almost all of the ideas and present theories of Max Reinhardt were discussed. The paper was issued bimonthly, and Arthur Kahane was its editor.[93] These articles were somewhat informative and provided the general theater public with an idea of the forthcoming productions. Some of the ideas that Reinhardt advocated and that actually appeared in the Blätter des Deutschen Theater included:

> "Problems of the theatre are problems of the time. . . .
> "The first law of the new theatre is utmost simplicity. Apart from the consideration that there is no time for complicated changes, the vast space demands the simplest of forms, and strong, big, severe lines. All accessories are superfluous; they cannot possibly be noticed, or, if they are, they are a source of distraction. At the most, scenic decoration can only be frame, not function. The elaboration of details, the emphasising of nuances disappear; the actor and the actor's voice are truly essential, while lighting becomes the real source of decoration, its single aim being to bring the important into the light, and to leave the unimportant in the shadow.
> ". . . This theatre can only express the great eternal elemental passions and the problems of humanity. In it spectators cease to be mere spectators; they become the people; their emotions are simple and primitive, but great and powerful, as becomes the eternal human race.
> "Many things that appear to most people to be inseparable from the theatre are being discarded. No curtain separates

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[91]Barrett H. Clark, "Max Reinhardt 'Himself'," Drama, XIV (May-June, 1924), 248.

[92]Ibid., p. 247.

[93]Carter, op. cit., p. 119.

> stage and auditorium. On entering the theatre the spectator feels and is impressed by the possibilities of space, and the essential mood is created in him to be preserved after the piece has begun. No small, strongly circumscribed, impassable frame separates the world of the play from the outer world, and the action flows freely through the whole of the theatre. . . . The chorus arises and moves in the midst of the audience; the characters meet each other amid the spectators; from all sides the hearer is being impressed, so that gradually he becomes part of the whole, and is rapidly absorbed in the action, a member of the chorus, so to speak. This close contact (intimacy) is the chief feature of the new form of the stage. It makes the spectator a part of the action, secures his entire interest, and intensifies the effect upon him.
>
> "Big spaces compel the unfolding of personality. It is in these that men develop their best and final power. Though separated by great distances, men still face each other, and inevitably the conflicting feeling arises. . . .
>
> "Of course, it will come easiest to actors who possess a musical temperament, for music is inherent in human beings, and by music we may reach the heart of the vastest crowds. . . ."[94]

Reinhardt continued breaking the old forms of the theater, and continued right on making his own. His own consisted of new forms that represented the theater as an ever changing fascinating entity. He believed that "'there is no one form of theater which is the only true artistic form.'"[95] Thus, this latter theory became the basis for all of his productions, for each attempted production ". . . a new technique is devised."[96]

Reinhardt conceived the theater as more ". . . an atmospheric, strange, mysterious, wonderful thing, 'created to be seen, prepared to be heard,' dependent on and appealing to the senses. A thing in itself,

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[94] Ibid., pp. 122-124.

[95] Cole and Chinoy, Directors on Directing, p. 49.

[96] George Jean Nathan, "The Other Incomparable Max," American Mercury, XIII (January, 1928), 118.

following its own laws, its own path."[97] And in this strange and wonderful theater, it was the director who was its leader.

Wherever Reinhardt directed, he was in complete control of the situation; that is, no matter how complex the show or difficult its staging, Reinhardt remained the principal director with absolute control over his co-directors.

His co-directors consisted of some of the most distinguished men in the theater, who, in their own right, could have easily become substantial directors on their own. These men brought their particular ideas and theories of lighting, acting, singing, dancing, designing, and costuming to the Reinhardt camp. They were sure that, here, they could at least get the opportunity to expound upon their theater concepts, for Reinhardt was always in favor of experimentation and always looked for newer forms for the theater. Each of the co-directors was a specialist in some facet of the theater, and, although Reinhardt made them adhere to a very general form that was prescribed for a particular production, he never tried to force upon his co-directors his techniques of executing and teaching a particular facet of theater. Through this idea of co-directorship, Reinhardt made it possible for his actors to acquire the most complete, provocative, and polished theater background and acting techniques that were available in the theater world at that time.

As serious as were the acting merits in the Meiningen and Stanislavsky school so were they in the Reinhardt school. Reinhardt, who received much of his acting training from Otto Brahm, believed, like

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[97]Sayler, op. cit., p. 81.

Brahm, that the actor should be ". . . educated, cultured, talented, highly restrained, understanding rather than feeling 'the part,' the offspring, in fact, of modern intellectual drama."[98] This type of actor Reinhardt improved upon by promoting ". . . Brahm's moderns to ultra-moderns by affording an opening to impulse."[99]

"Impulse", Reinhardt's innovation to the art of acting, meant that when an actor was aware of some existing influence due to a particular feeling, action, or interaction during a performance he would let himself involuntarily react to it. The result usually provided a more exciting and meaningful dramatic moment. This innovation of spontaneous creativity was due to Reinhardt's desire to experiment, and was one of the qualities demanded of an actor of the Reinhardt school.

In the Reinhardt school there were exhibited four general styles of acting: the intellectual, the passionate, the reserved, and the mature. Many actors portrayed each of these styles, but usually relied on one as their forte for which they were noted.[100] The uniqueness of this approach was that each of the actors used his own personal characteristics as the primary source in molding his character, endowing his

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[98]Carter, op. cit., p. 181. [99]Ibid., p. 181.

[100]One of these acting styles was illustrated by one of the finest actresses of the Reinhardt theater, Gertrud Eysoldt (1870-1950). She was

> ". . . an actress of the ultra-modern movement. She expresses the emotions through the intellect--the intellect, indeed, fashions the emotion. . . . She is the extreme type of the intellectual actress, in whom the intellect is a fine instrument for shaping the feelings." (Ibid., p. 181.)

Another style was fashioned and executed by Alexander Moissi (1880-1935). His acting style was that of a

> ". . . firey Italian temperament, he is able to invest his work with that rare element, passion, while a voice of exceptional cello-like quality enables him to charm and hold the spectator much as Bernhardt does." (Ibid., p. 182.)

character with his own original and particular qualities of expression. These four acting styles dominated the artistic repertory of Max Reinhardt, and expressed a possible development and refinement in the art of acting.

Nevertheless, it was assumed that, although there were stars in the Reinhardt theater, the entire system of the Deutsches Theater was an organized affair and its promotion of actors and understudies resembled that of the Meininger company and the Moscow Art Theatre. It was Reinhardt's idea that through the use of the coöperative system of direction he would establish ". . . a school wherein budding Eysoldts, Moissis, and Kaysslers might be turned out by the score."[101] The actors also went through various phases of rehearsal and training, where they evolved from being a member in a crowd scene to a specific leader, with responsibilities of dialogue and movement. However, the unique thing about the crowd scenes on the Reinhardt stage was that each person was a vital functioning member, an individualist who was highly trained in the various arts of his craft by the very best teachers in Europe.

Contributions

Through this dynamic and stimulating approach to organizing the theater during the first half of the twentieth century, Max Reinhardt ". . . helped to spread the fame of German theatrical art far beyond the frontiers of the country. It was he who recreated the stage manager's art and carried it up to heights reached by no one before him."[102]

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[101] Ibid., p. 184.

[102] Sayler, op. cit., p. 75.

A supporter of Wagner's Gesamtkunstwerk theory, and an organizer in combining the many arts of the theater, Reinhardt, during his time, was never surpassed.

There was no doubt that Reinhardt's most marvelous contribution to the theater was his ability to organize, combine, and execute the ideas that went into each of his stage productions, whether they were either of the grandiose theatrical genre or of the detailed and highly naturalistic genre. All the labor that went into each of Reinhardt's productions consumed many hours and after hours of production theories and their means of application. This work never went unrewarded. All the accumulated ideas that composed a production such as Reinhardt's were contained in his Regiebuch (prompt book). These books, to say the least, are possibly the most distinguished of their kind.[103]

Reinhardt was instrumental in initiating various drama festivals in Austria and Germany, including the famous Salzburg festival which he inaugurated in 1920. He also produced plays throughout Europe, England, and the United States.[104] But the most remembered and talked about contribution to the theater was the diverse and dynamic use of his crowd scenes. It was the imaginative work of "'. . . der Tausendkunstler' (the wizard)."[105] the name the Berliners gave to Reinhardt, who enlivened each of his productions with the psychological power of the

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[103] Cole and Chinoy, loc. cit.

[104] James J. McCallen, "Max Reinhardt in European and American Drama" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Department of History, University of Southern California), p. 31.

[105] Ibid., p. 31.

crowd that engaged the audience in sharing with the actor the feelings and the experiences of the theater.

Conclusion

Both the Duke and Stanislavsky had an early initiation into the theater. The Duke, who acted in his father's Court Theater, and who received a liberal arts education at the University of Bonn, interspersed with sojourns throughout Europe and England studying art and occasionally witnessing theater, cultivated one of the finest theater backgrounds for a director of his time. He also associated with some of the most prominent artists and personages of the era. During the Duke's rise to eminence in the world of the theater, Stanislavsky was just being initiated into the Little Theatre on his father's estate, which was to introduce him to the basics of the Russian theater and to lead him into some of the finest amateur circles of Moscow, and eventually, to the emergence of the Moscow Art Theatre.

In contrast to this early development were Reinhardt's early theater ventures with the homemade puppet stage and the rendezvous with his brother, Edmund, in the Brünn Theater. However, of the three, Reinhardt was the first to receive professional recognition at the early age of nineteen in the acting company of Brahm.

Each of the directors adopted the theory that the actor was the supreme element of the theater--the pillar of the theater. Each director also adopted a means by which he introduced, trained, and incorporated the inexperienced actor into the theater and the play. The methods that were adopted were followed by all three directors and included class-like

sessions. What was taught in the class session was, then, primarily executed in the crowd scenes. These ideas enabled each of the directors to pursue a synthesis of the theater, by at least establishing a consolidated acting company, one devoted to the perfection of the art of the theater. From the unification of the acting and the nourishment of their art, each of the directors was led to unify and mold other elements of the theater in order to present a production of one form, thus improving and augmenting the Gesamtkunstwerk theory.

The idea of Wagner's Gesamtkunstwerk theory--that all the elements of the theater were to unify the production into a working entity--was upheld by each director. Each developed, broadened, and expounded upon the theory and freely added a few ideas of his own.

The Duke was the first to execute the theory with any amount of success. Thus he became the example for all others to follow, and Stanislavsky did with his reflection and perfection. However, each of the productions of the Reinhardt stage was somewhat equivalent to a proposed Wagnerian opera; and the methods by which Reinhardt organized, composed, and executed his productions are found in his famous Regiebücher (prompt books).

Stanislavsky and Reinhardt kept highly detailed prompt books of almost every production that they attempted. The prompt books that the Duke kept were very few, for the majority of his work, in preparation for a production, was done by sketching.

But the most significant parallel, which distinguishes and, yet, which unites each director, was his use of the crowd. Here, again, it was the Duke who organized, established, and amazed the audiences with

the precision of his crowd scenes. Stanislavsky also impressed and moved the audiences with his crowd scenes, and it was the crowd scenes of the Reinhardt era that were said to be the most amazing in all aspects. Regardless of how each director used the crowd, it is agreed that it was their most powerful technique, bringing them much recognition.

CHAPTER II

THE CROWD

In the middle of the nineteenth century it was not uncommon to walk into any of the theaters of Germany, or on the European continent for that matter, and see painted upon the theater's backdrops mob scenes and the images of extras.[1] This was the theater of the declaimer: the era of the rose lapel and impassioned actor, whose acting technique centered about incoherent diction and striking poses for the supposedly aesthetically trained eyes of the audience. The self-styled star actor, with disregard for his fellow performers, terminated with the May 1, 1874, Berlin debut of the Meiningen company performance of Julius Caesar. The success of the Meiningers' performance began a new era in the theater world which led to the eventual evolution of modern stage direction.

Through the successful years from 1874-1890, the Duke's crowd scenes enlightened many productions:

> The living crowds that people the Meiningen stages were indeed a contrast to the groups that stood immobile at the back, staring out at the audience while a star in the foreground delivered an oration.[2]

Types of Crowds

It was the Duke who was the foremost director in establishing standards of organizational, rehearsal, and production techniques in which crowd perfection was accomplished. Stanislavsky and Reinhart also

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[1]Max Grube, The Story of the Meininger, ed. Wendell Cole, trans. Ann Marie Koller (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1963), p. 14.

[2]Anne Louise Hirt, "The Place of Georg II, Duke of Meiningen in the Unfoldment of Theatre Art" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, University of Southern California), p. 230.

used the crowd as part of their productions, and they followed similar patterns of crowd rehearsal and production techniques that were set forth by the Duke. When working with the crowd, the Duke, Stanislavsky, and Reinhardt gave the crowd its own style, but each director used two basic crowd forms: the classical form and the electoral form. The classical crowd--the psychological crowd--that the Duke used

> . . . indeed formed a Greek chorus. It had a mental unity and spoke and acted as one person. Such a crowd answers to the psychological crowd, ... Whoever be the individuals that compose it [the psychological crowd], however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them in possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation. There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being, or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a crowd. The psychological crowd is a provincial being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly.[3]

It was with this type of crowd that the Duke executed most of his crowd scenes. Stanislavsky and Reinhardt also worked with the classical crowd, and, in some instances, with the more difficult electoral, individual crowd.

The electoral crowd--the individual crowd--was defined by Reinhardt in the following manner:

> The individualization of crowds is no doubt legitimate and logical up to a certain point. Though there are psychological, organized crowds, possessed by one dominating idea, there are also crowds which are divided on the main issue. Such are,

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[3]Huntly Carter, The Theatre of Max Reinhardt (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1914), pp. 78-79.

> for instance, electoral crowds. The members of these do not act collectively, but indulge in individual cries, to say nothing of the face-scratching of rivals.[4]

When working with the electoral crowd, a crowd divided among itself, and not adhering to the same idea, the Duke separated the crowd into two or more opposing groups. Although these groups were distinct from one another--divided with other crowd groups on the main idea--the Duke did not leave these crowd groups as separate units, but he was especially noted for his ability to unify these individualized electoral crowd groups ". . . into an effective whole."[5] This technique was followed by Stanislavsky, who developed it a step further, into what he termed the étude.[6] An example of an étude, exercise, is the conspiracy scene from Tsar Fyodor. He stated to the participating electoral crowd groups that often in a conspiracy the group was divided, and the members of the different groups and individuals that composed them

> . . . often do not even know each other, do not know all the threads of the conspiracy, do not even know the date for its execution. I suggest that all of you become conspirators in relation to the étude I have proposed, . . .[7]

When working with an electoral crowd, Reinhardt stressed ideas with separate groups, and possibly separate ideas for members within the

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[4]Ibid., p. 80.

[5]Marvin Carlson, "Meiningen Crowd Scenes and the Théâtre-Libre," Educational Theatre Journal, XIII (December, 1961), 245.

[6]The étude was an improvisational exercise ". . . created by the director on the same theme as the play, with the actors in the characters they are portraying. The situation must be close to the actors' personal experience and of the same nature as the situation in the play." (Nikolai M. Gorchakov, Stanislavsky Directs, trans. Miriam Goldina [New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1954], p. 399.)

[7]Ibid., p. 21.

group. If Reinhardt did not want to show the contrast of ideas between particular groups, he would not parallel the crowd or separate crowd groups. If a group was divided in idea, the crowd was divided. When the crowd was united in spirit the classical crowd was used.[8]

Organization and Management

In order to fulfill his particular concept of the use of the crowd, the Duke had to maintain some kind of order. In his theater each director established a co-director policy under which began the organization and management of the crowd.

In the Meiningen theater the co-directorship was composed of the Duke, his wife Baroness von Heldburg, and Chronegk[9]:

> The Duke, in whose hands the supervision obviously remained, determined the outlines of the production and the forms of the presentation; Chronegk worked out the details; and Frau von Heldburg took as her province everything of a really dramatic nature. For the most part, she proposed the plays to be produced, and she was responsible for the masterly adaptations of the texts.[10]

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[8]Ernst [sic] Stern and Heinz Herald, Reinhardt und Seine Bühne (Berlin: Eysler and Co., 1919), pp. 161-162.

[9]Ludwig Chronegk (1838-1891) joined the Meiningen company "on November 4, 1866, ..." (Grube, op. cit., p. 29.) After portraying many comic roles on the Meiningen stage, the Duke appointed him regisseur in The Court Theater prior to the 1873-1874 theater season. Although Chronegk was not an exceptional actor, he was an exceptional regisseur. "He had a clear understanding which quickly found the most natural and complete solution for all questions of production and scenery. He had a talent for making clear to the actor in short, striking phrases--often in drastic but easily understood ways--what the central idea of a role was; . . . ." (Ibid., p. 30.) So dedicated to the Duke was Chronegk that he refused to obey his doctor's orders to remain in bed with his heart condition and arthritis, but rather continued rehearsals in preparation for the first Berlin tour. Chronegk was a major link in the Meininger theater system, and his ". . . special contribution to the Meininger lay in the organization and execution of the guest tours." (Ibid., p. 31.)

[10]Ibid., p. 33.

If the Duke, his wife, or Chronegk disagreed on the effectiveness of an interpretation of a scene there was an immediate conference,

> . . . for during rehearsals it is indispensable that a determined will pull everything together and decide on a single effect. The Duke took this decisive role, of course, but . . . he . . . [never] gave an important instruction without the concurrence of his co-workers. If a difference of opinion arose, the scene in question would be rehearsed according to each interpretation. It was not unusual to see it in three versions. Then the most effective parts would be chosen from each, or without hesitation the version to be retained would be chosen.[11]

Stanislavsky followed the Duke's ideas of co-directorship. In the Moscow Art Theatre, Danchenko was responsible for the theater's management and for the literary quality and Stanislavsky was responsible for the acting quality. Stanislavsky was chief stage director and his co-directors were ". . . the artist Simov,[12] . . . [and] assistant stage director Sanin,[13] . . . ."[14] When working with the crowd, Stanislavsky placed a great deal of responsibility on his assistant stage director, A. A. Sanin. He directed rehearsals when the director was absent, and was the principal organizer backstage during productions. During the

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[11] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[12] Victor A. Simov (1858-1935) was Stanislavsky's chief stage designer. Simov was an artist, and one of the leaders of Russian naturalistic stage design. He designed the settings of such ". . . outstanding productions as Brand, Julius Caeser, and The Seagull." (Phillis Hartnoll [ed.] The Oxford Companion to the Theatre [2d ed. rev.; London: Oxford University Press, 1957], p. 692.)

[13] A. A. Sanin (1866-1956) was Stanislavsky's first assistant and later went on to become a respected and famous ". . . stage director in Paris, London, and Madrid, ..." (Konstantin Stanislavsky, My Life in Art, trans. J. J. Robbins [New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1956], p. 147.)

[14] Ibid., p. 313.

productions, when the crowd scenes were too loud, he quieted them down so the people in the audience could hear and comprehend the principal lines of the play. He was the official "cuer" and leader of the action on the stage. Reinhardt followed a co-directorship organization. In order to give a production its widest expression his co-directorship system was composed of a body of intellectual interpreters:

> Composing the circle are the producer (Reinhardt), the literary director (Arthur Kahane), the musical director, the interpretative body of players, the art director (Ernst [sic] Stern), the technical director, and so forth. . . . Each directs and controls his own department, while working according to a general design.[15]

Reinhardt worked out the details of every production with his co-directors, and sometimes

> he was content to deliver the details over to the charge of his co-directors, and to remain watching the clay as it passed through their hands. The advantages of this co-operative method of company rehearsing are many. The chief of them is the immense gain in time.[16]

In Meiningen, Mitmachen (coöperation) was the principal means of crowd management. The Duke demanded that the lead actors and crowd members practice the Mitmachen system:

> . . . Every member of the company was obliged to work as an extra. Mitmachen . . . does not adequately express this--rank and salary, although both might be significant, allowed no exception. Whenever they had no part in the play, the first hero and the first heroine had to stand beside the untrained beginner in the bustling throng of the folk. As we may well understand, these methods were not at first acceptable, but the longer an artist remained with the Meininger, the more he perceived that on this groundwork of equality, the whole structure of the Meininger was erected and maintained.[17]

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[15]Carter, op. cit., p. 188.

[16]Ibid., p. 234.

[17]Grube, op. cit., p. 39.

In Meiningen, crowd management proceeded in an orderly manner. After auditions, the Duke began crowd rehearsals by separating the principals from the crowd members. During the initial stages of the crowd rehearsals, the Duke and Chronegk watched carefully, distinguishing the talented from the untalented. Only after the young actors were able to control their bodies, their movements, listen attentively, pick up their cues and speak distinctly, and remain in character throughout the rehearsal and performance were they awarded a minor role in the crowd scene. Whenever an individual showed moments of improvement, he was assigned to a frontal position in the crowd scene.[18] This idea was to encourage the lesser members while the more talented rotated in the leading roles. The Duke stated:

> It is the business of the director and the stage manager subordinated to him to discover quickly the especially capable and the especially incapable and to separate the sheep from the goats, so that the dubious ones can be put in as fillers where they can do no harm.[19]

Whether or not Reinhardt followed the Duke's Mitmachen system, he ". . . learnt [sic] a great deal from the Meininger's methods of handling a crowd, ..."[20] In the Reinhardt theater, the crowd members were sometimes given understudy roles in one of his many concurrent productions. This was known as the promotion system. Some of the crowd members in one production were understudies of another production. When something happened, these understudies were

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[18]Hirt, op. cit., p. 221.

[19]Grube, op. cit., p. 45.

[20]Carter, op. cit., p. 80.

> . . . prepared to go on for certain parts, but they are allowed to appear in parts as vacancies occur, which they frequently do owing to the constant change of programme both at the Deutsches Theater and the Kammerspielhaus.[21]

Reinhardt made it his policy ". . . to discover talent. He prefers the raw to the finished material."[22] He believed that if an actor looked the part and had some of the necessary talent, there should be no hesitation in giving the young actor ". . . a chance of playing big roles. If one experiment proved unsuccessful he would try another one, and in this way he trained a new generation of young actors."[23] Stanislavsky adopted the Duke's technique of separating the actors from the crowd members. He watched the crowd to see who among the younger actors was developing, and who possessed potential talent. Stanislavsky said that

> "while observing the young actor in the group scene we can learn about his talent, his relation to theatre art, his ability to understand the play, his imagination, and his skill in combining all the elements of the method into the organic life and action of the stage."[24]

Those talented and interested crowd members were then placed in the Studio.[25] Here they were taught the techniques of the Stanislavsky system, and they gained practical experience by taking a small role or a minor lead in one of the divisions of the crowd scenes in the Moscow Art Theatre. The Studio developed into an acting conservatory whereby

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[21] Ibid., p. 183.

[22] Ibid., p. 185.

[23] Ernest Stern, My Life, My Stage (London: Gollancz Ltd., 1951), p. 74.

[24] Gorchakov, op. cit., p. 149.

[25] Stanislavsky developed the First Studio in 1913. Here he hoped to teach his acting system to new actors who would eventually become the new blood of the Moscow Art Theatre and carry on its work.

students from all over Russia came to audition. Those who were accepted embarked on a rigorous theater education.[26]

After separating the actors from the crowd, the Duke then proceeded to further divide the crowd into smaller groups, each of which is separately trained. With this understanding the Duke assigned to each group of extras an experienced actor:

> Each of these groups should be led by a skilled, thoroughly trained actor or by a clever member of the chorus, who "covers" the others and who, therefore, stands conspicuously in the foreground. To some extent, this leader must carry the responsibility that subordinates entrusted to him obey the orders he gives. He himself is responsible to the director . . . and must see to it that positions, movements, etc., will be produced on cue.[27]

Like the Duke, Reinhardt too divided his crowd, and they were ". . . trained with the precision of an orchestra, separate from other rehearsals, . . ."[28] leaving him with more time in which he rehearsed the actors. During large productions, Reinhardt's crowd could be seen rehearsing

> . . . in every corner of the building and everything proceeding according to an intelligently conceived and well-ordered plan. . . . The dancers being rehearsed in one part of the building, the singers in another, the crowd in another, the music in another and so on. And . . . this continued day after day, ..."[29]

Stanislavsky followed the Duke's idea of crowd division. This idea enabled Stanislavsky to devote more time to the individuals in the crowd

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[26]Norris Houghton, Moscow Rehearsals (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), pp. 36-37.

[27]Grube, op. cit., p. 45.

[28]Max Reinhardt and His Theatre, ed. Oliver M. Sayler, trans. M. S. Gudernatsch (New York: Brentano's, 1924), p. 88.

[29]Carter, op. cit., p. 234.

and their characterizations in the role. Sometimes Stanislavsky became so involved with the crowd members that he would ". . . teach every member of the crowd scene not only how to behave during the dramatic climaxes of the play, but also how to wear his costume."[30] Later, in preparation for Tsar Fyodor, Stanislavsky again guided the individuals of the various crowd groups:

> "Then each one of you get together with two or three others and talk over your group's relationship to the rest of us. Thus, within the general group scene there will be small groups. I will work with each small group separately. I will establish the trend of thought of each member in each group, and the relationship of this little group to the lines of the principal characters . . . ."[31]

Following the division of the crowd, the Duke began to outline the necessary work to be done:

> It should be pointed out that there was never a so-called Book of Direction, the Regiebuch. Everything was planned, so to speak, from event to event. Such a procedure cost a great deal of time, but in Meiningen time always played just as small a part as gold.[32]

In place of a detailed prompt book, the Duke always drew sketches of all the work that was to be done for his productions. In handling the crowd scenes, ". . . the most important groupings in the plays were frequently determined in advance in sketches."[33] When completed, the sketches were given to Chronegk who rehearsed the crowd according to his own pattern and discipline. Stanislavsky did not sketch his crowd

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[30]David Magarshack, Stanislavsky a Life (New York: Chanticleer Press, 1951), p. 87.

[31]Gorchakov, op. cit., p. 23.

[32]Grube, op. cit., p. 35.

[33]Ibid., p. 22.

scenes. This was done by Victor Simov, Stanislavsky's scenic artist. Stanislavsky also took his time with rehearsals, and, in order to achieve perfection in a play, he would think nothing of setting back the date of a production from six to nine months.[34] He composed a detailed prompt book which contained the mise en scène[35] for every act of the production. In it he noted

> . . . how, where, and in what way one was to understand the rôle and the hints of the author, what voice one was to use, how to act and move, where and how to change position. There were special drawings in accordance with the principle worked out at the time for all the business of entrances, exits, and changes of position. There was a description of the scenery, costumes, make-ups, manners, way of walking, methods and habits of the rôles played.[36]

Reinhardt also did not himself sketch the crowd scenes because this occasionally was done by his scenic director Ernest Stern.[37] Unlike the Duke, Reinhardt composed a highly detailed Regiebuch. Max Reinhardt's private secretary, Miss Augusta C. Adler, said that "it was not uncommon for Max Reinhardt to prepare and complete the work of a prompt book six

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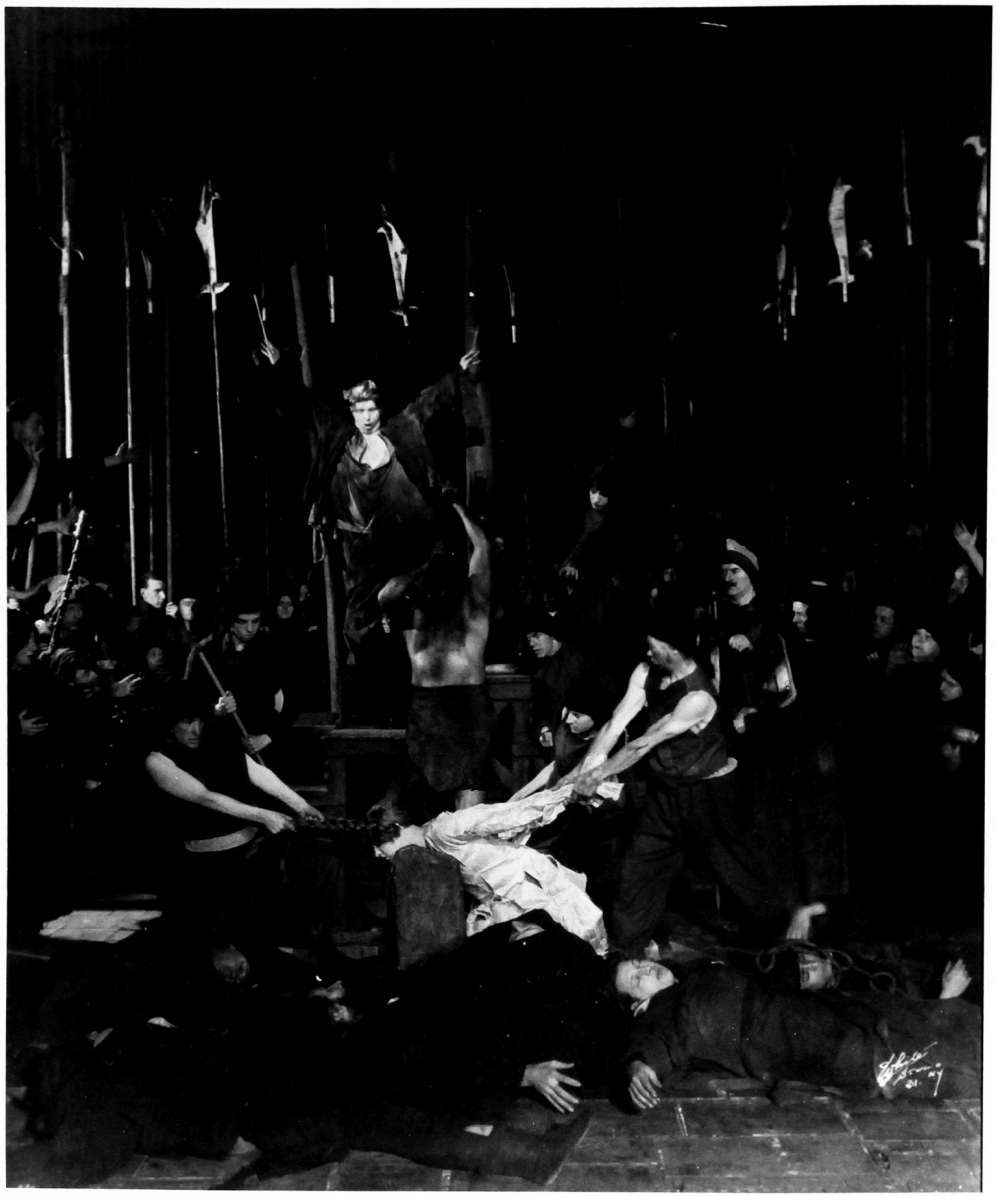
[34]Houghton, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

[35]The mise en scène is a term which indicates all the director's notes, explanations, and directions for staging a production. Stanislavsky often compiled these notes in private, but as he developed in artistic depth he would compile the mise en scène as the actors rehearsed the play, experimenting with blocking and interpretation. This continued until the correct mise en scène was found for each scene.

[36]Stanislavsky, op. cit., p. 322.

[37]Ernest Stern (1876-1954) came from Roumania to Berlin in 1905. In Berlin he became Max Reinhardt's head stage and costume designer. "Since 1906, Ernst [sic] Stern's versatile pencil has created a series of humorous and serious stage pictures, and has been Reinhardt's mainstay, although Rée, Roller, Orlik, Dietz and others have varied this aspect of his stage." (Sayler, op. cit., p. 135.)

PLATE I



The Miracle, Scene VI, Lines 262-268. Sayler, p. 309.

When it was time to begin rehearsals, the general and detailed outline was found in the Regiebuch. It was in the Regiebuch that Reinhardt and his co-directors had described

> . . . in the most minute detail and in a continuous series all situations, positions, and expressions. Thus by the very reality of his technical means, he remodels and reworks the entire drama, provides lyric paraphrases, scenic directions, and hints for the actor. When this book is finished, the first picture of the entire work stands ready before his eyes; also the entire plan for the ensuing preparations, for the dramaturgy, for the music, for the distribution and studying of the parts.[41]

Discipline was an important element in crowd management, and it facilitated the Duke, Stanislavsky, and Reinhardt's work with the crowd. In order to accomplish their goals, each director had his own particular kind of discipline.

The disciplinary procedures at Meiningen were rather stiff, and those who did not comply were asked to leave. The Duke, his wife, and Chronegk worked tirelessly on a play, and they expected the same quality and dedication to be exhibited by all of the actors, whether they were stars or not. An example of the strict discipline

> . . . is best shown by the fact that without any hesitation the Duke allowed von Bülow his requested release when the Concert Master threatened to resign unless his wife, an excellent and spirited actress, should be relieved from serving as an extra. . . . He certainly knew how to lay hold of the Duke at a place where yielding was impossible. One exception would have brought about the destruction of the whole system.[42]

The discipline was so respected that it often led to long hours of rehearsing with the crowd, as well as with the principals. It was part

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[41]Toby Cole and Helen Krich Chinoy, Directors on Directing (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill and Company, Inc., 1963), p. 49.

[42]Grube, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

of the style of the Duke to never "drag" a rehearsal, but to always keep the actors profitably busy, either working on their characters, or discussing their roles with the others. The Duke also disposed of the idea of having to rush a rehearsal, or of specifying a rehearsal duration. There was really no such need of hastily rehearsed productions in Meiningen, because time was no factor, except to provide the necessary allotment for future perfection and success:

> The length of the rehearsals, beginning about five or six and seldom ending before midnight, was never computed beforehand. Once the Duke called, "I wish all the members a Happy New Year." It was New Year's Eve! Then the rehearsal resumed. Even the longest rehearsal was never broken for a supper pause for the company. In a good middle-class way the Duke would bring a sandwich out of a paper bag, and sometimes his wife would bring him some hot chocolate. After the rehearsal the princely couple took their evening meal in the castle, and then remained up longer discussing the evening's work.[43]

Discipline was an important factor in the success of the Meininger crowd scenes, and the same was true for Stanislavsky's crowd scenes. His crowd had one consolation, the rehearsals were never as long as those of the Duke. Although it was possible that Stanislavsky rehearsed the actors for hours at a time, crowd rehearsals, wrote Stanislavsky, were exceptional. The crowd, which was composed mainly of extras, had to be subjected to the inflexible and unalterable rules of the director. The crowd members had to

> . . . be placed, as it were, under martial law. And no wonder. For a producer may sometimes have to deal with a crowd of several hundred people, and he could hardly be expected to do it without military discipline. If only one extra is late, or if he fails to follow the example of the actors and make careful note of the producer's instructions, or if he talks when he should have listened, he may be responsible for all sorts of irritating delays

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[43] Ibid., p. 35.

> involving the repetition of a whole rehearsal and unnecessary trouble for those who were doing their work conscientiously. Nor must it be forgotten that rehearsals of crowd scenes are extremely fatiguing both for producers and extras. That is why it is so desirable that such rehearsals should be both brief and productive. And this demands the strictest possible discipline.[44]

Such sternness was incongruous to Reinhardt's rehearsals. Prussian discipline was never adopted by Reinhardt, and he never disciplined the crowd in the manner of a tyrant. When molding the crowd into a body of unified expression, he incorporated the individual characters of the crowd into an artistic form with his own personal stamp.[45] It was known that Reinhardt never made outward charges against the supers. ". . . He took things quite calmly, and even came to the theatre without a preconceived idea of what the many details composing the whole should be."[46] He possessed a magic himself that simply captivated his actors, whether they were stars or extras. It may well be attributed to the fact that he was once an actor who still retained that actor's "sense", which enabled him to describe ". . . a man's surroundings by hundreds of characteristic gestures and actions; and [he had] an almost frightening, sudden, explosive power, a mighty forceful accentuation."[47] During rehearsals

> he leads everyone to disclose his innermost nature. He forces everyone to give his very best, to use all available means--now by most intensive labor during rehearsals, then by individual study after the rehearsals; here by opposition, there by

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[44]Konstantin Stanislavsky, Stanislavsky on the Art of the Stage, trans. David Magarshack (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), p. 290.

[45]Sayler, op. cit., p. 327.

[46]Carter, loc. cit.

[47]Sayler, op. cit., p. 113.

> chagrin, by nervousness. In the end, everyone, even the least, gives more than he himself believed he possessed. The same holds true with the masses, the chorus, which at first are trained with the precision of an orchestra, separate from the other rehearsals, and which later are added to the entire picture and swept away by the intensity of the whole.[48]

Reinhardt used psychology upon the members of the crowd. It was often thought that Reinhardt gave too much freedom and individuality to the crowd members, and that he was too stern with his actors. However, Reinhardt never lets this happen. He tightened up the standards of the actor and never lessened the power which he imaginatively gave so freely to the chorus.

Rehearsal and Production Techniques

While working with the crowd in their rehearsals and productions, the Duke, Stanislavsky, and Reinhardt used the picturization effect. Picturization served (1) to produce a focal point in centering the principal figures and the principal action of a scene, (2) to balance the stage scene, and (3) to convey the mood of the scene.

In order to accomplish the picturization effect in their productions, each of the directors used three basic elements: crowd movement; crowd contrast; and crowd sound.

It was the Duke who first exploited the picturization effect:

> As he viewed a painting he viewed the stage picture. Composition was the first essential, and the actor or a group of actors in movement was the central element of the composition. Everything else had to be built around it, subordinated to it, but had to support it. To Duke Georg, the performance of a play was a CONSTANTLY CHANGING SERIES--A LIVING PATTERN--OF PICTURES. If at every moment the picture was correct in all its details--the inner meaning expressed through the external symbols of

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[48] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

> movement, scenery, properties, costumes, and so forth, throughout the performance of a play--then the whole must be something that approaches the artistic representation of the soul of the play. That was the theory out of which he set to work to reform the theatre. That was the theory out of which other theories regarding details of a production grew.[49]

Like the Duke, Stanislavsky created picturesque crowd settings with realistic movement and compositional activity that he saw in some of the famous realistic Russian paintings.[50] Reinhardt, too, was aware of the use of picturization and used it in his crowd scenes in the proscenium and arena theaters:

> He honestly values "Art," i.e., painting and architecture, and therefore employs real "artists" to work for him. He wants the stage to look like a picture in a gallery; . . . ."[51]

The Duke believed that ". . . movement is the most important phase of theatre art,"[52] and that mime[53] was a vital and expressive element of movement. In order for the crowd members to achieve a perfection of movement and mime, the Duke sketched the crowd scenes that were to be rehearsed. In the sketch, he placed the crowd members in various groupings and indicated their movements, poses, and gestures. Each crowd member studied and adopted, or tried the many poses, gestures, and movements of the character who had his name beneath it.[54]

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[49]Hirt, op. cit., pp. 144-45.

[50]Gorchakov, op. cit., p. 98.

[51]Sayler, op. cit., p. 141.

[52]Hirt, op. cit., p. 453.

[53]Mime is the silent art of the theater whereby the actor expresses the human emotions of his character through the use of gesture, movement, and facial expression. Mime also can be quite effective especially when there are entire mimetic productions and the movements and gestures of the actor are combined with dance and music.

[54]Hirt, op. cit., p. 290.

PLATE II

The Miracle, Scene I, Lines 103-106. Sayler, p. 257.

The excellence of the Meiningers' use of mime was found in Antoine's letter to Sarcy, after Antoine had seen a Meininger performance in Brussels in July, 1888. Antoine referred to the miming of the Meininger crowd from the example he had witnessed. Antoine said that

> Mlle. Linder, their star, playing in the Winter's Tale, took a silent part in the tableau of the seat of justice, and mimed a woman of the people as conscientiously and as carefully as she interpreted on the following evening the important role of Hermione in the same piece. That is the secret of their crowds, ...[55]

Stanislavsky believed that "'. . . eyes and . . . facial expressions are often much stronger than words.'"[56] He saw that it was imperative that his crowd members work on mime, the unspoken language of the actors. Reinhart also realized the significance of mime and rigorously applied it to all his crowd rehearsals. In Reinhardt's rehearsals all the performers, singers, dancers, and actors worked with their gestures, poses, and movements in order to possess a controlled and ". . . expressively animated body, ..."[57]

When working with movement and mime, the Duke achieved best results when he limited the crowd's movements:

> This technique of severely limiting the playing area was a favorite stock in trade of the Meiningers, who found that by restricting the stage space and by extending the crowd far off into the wings an effect of great mass could be attained.[58]

After Antoine had witnessed the Duke's crowd scenes in Brussels he repeated some of them in his own productions:

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[55]Samuel Montefiore Waxman, Antoine and the Théâtre-Libre (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 247.

[56]Gorchakov, op. cit., p. 50.

[57]Sayler, op. cit., p. 71.

[58]Carlson, op. cit., p. 248.

> . . . nearly five hundred supernumeraries flow into a rather small setting through a single door. They slowly filter in, and, like a subtle tide, at last inundated everything from the furnishings to the characters, ...[59]

Like the Duke Stanislavsky also severely limited the space of the crowd. In his 1903 production of Julius Caesar, he expressed concern as

> . . . how to arrange the passages, giving . . . [the army] the least possible amount of space in order to create the impression of large masses of people with a small body of extras.[60]

Reinhardt's production of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's (1749-1832) Urfaust[61] also indicated that he was aware of, and used, the techniques of limitation of space:

> How valuable the small stage is when closely packed with figures appeared forcibly in the cellar-scene. Here the roof was brought down so low that it was barely possible to stand upright; . . . . In this confined space sat four men, shouting, singing, belching, drinking, roaring, quarreling. The vivid reality of the scene was unbearable; one imagined oneself as close to the actors as they were to each another. At other times one felt that the play had been sacrificed to the picture.[62]

Variegation[63] was another form of limited crowd movement that the

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[59] Ibid., p. 248.

[60] Stanislavsky, My Life in Art, p. 411.

[61] ". . . Urfaust is a series of scenes for Faust, sketched by Goethe in 1774-1775 when quite a young man. He destroyed the manuscript, but about a century later there came to light a copy made by a lady-in-waiting at the Court of Weimar." (Sayler, op. cit., p. 140.)

[62] Ibid., p. 141.

[63] Variegation is a technical name that Stanislavsky gave to crowd movement that was to create a conflicting, chaotic commotion. The walk around was possibly originated by Stanislavsky for the express purpose of creating a large crowd scene with minimum crowd members. Stanislavsky defined walk around as ". . . continual movement of various groups to one side. To one group Tortsov assigned coming out of the palace, conversations, the forming of a squad of men and their exit on the right. Another group was to do the same but exit on the left. Both groups on arriving back stage were immediately to repeat the maneuver not as the

Duke used. Variegation is a technical name which indicated the diversified movements, sound, and commotion that a group made when in conflict with another group:

> As for "variegation," Tortsov [Stanislavsky's fictitious directing name] explained it this way: If there is a mass movement in one direction, the impression is created of a definite push toward a given place, it looks like an organized movement. But if you send two groups in different directions in order to have them meet, clash, exchange words, separate, and keep going off the stage--then you have the impression of bustle, chaos, haste.[64]

During a battle scene the Duke limited the variegation movement diagonally from downstage left to upstage right:[65]

> The Meininger stage battles were considerably different from those which had been presented up to that time; they were fought not with thoughtless extras, but with young actors. The battles were heated and often resulted in injuries. Although in other theatres, the crowd threshed aimlessly across the stage, here we saw soldiers really fighting with each other and realistically simulating the wounded and the dying. The setting was very restricted and the scene was staged in evening darkness. . . .[66]

Stanislavsky's use of variegation is indicated in his production of Othello:

> Brabantio has no organized force. It is formed for the occasion out of his servants. So they cannot have any military discipline; everything happens on the spur of the moment, without sense, all in confused movements.[67]

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same characters but as others of newly formed squads." (Konstantin Stanislavsky, Creating a Role, ed. Hermine I. Popper, trans. Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood [New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1961], p. 145.)

[64] Ibid., p. 145.

[65] Grube, op. cit., p. 60.

[66] Ibid., p. 60.

[67] Stanislavsky, Creating a Role, op. cit., pp. 145-46.

Reinhardt too used variegation, as noted in his prompt book for the 1924 New York production of Karl Vollmoeller's (1878-1948) The Miracle:[68]

> (271) The general excitement and indignation waxes to a hurricane.
> (272) The crowd storms and rolls from all sides onto the place of execution. One sees suddenly bobbing up here and there in the crowd the face of the Piper who henceforth spurs them on to liberate the Nun.
> (273) The wildly excited people forcibly push the soldiers back toward the centre, break the barrier of lances; rush in the middle. They snatch the axe from the executioner, free the Nun, storm upon the judges' table and tear the chief judge (now a dummy) literally into pieces.
> (274) A struggle between soldiers and people ensues. Many fall.[69]

Another technique in making the crowd picture effective was the use of obstacles. The Duke sometimes placed obstacles in the confined path of an oncoming crowd. For example, many of his military groups were restricted to a narrow path that usually extended diagonally from downstage left to upstage right. In the path he would place a small bush, or mound of dirt. These obstacles inhibited the group's movement, and also created a variation of movement which aided the picture effect. In one scene in the play The Battle of Arminius, the Duke placed a huge fallen tree trunk in the army's path:

> In the Meininger setting a giant fallen tree obstructed the narrow path, which the underbrush and bushes still left somewhat free. . . . Varus and the Roman leaders were obliged to clear a pathway with great difficulty and to climb over the trunk. It was obvious that an unexpected attack in this wild, marshy, matted forest would be crushing.[70]

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[68] The Miracle is a medieval literary piece possibly of Netherlandish origin. The entire story is related in a little more ". . . than one thousand lines of rhymed couplets of Netherlandish, ..." Karl Vollmoeller wrote a scenario for the production in the Kammerspiele and Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921) wrote the music. (Harold de Wolf Fuller, "The Miracle," Independent, CXII [February 2, 1924], 77.)

[69] Sayler, op. cit., pp. 309-10.

[70] Grube, op. cit., p. 72.

A narrow path strewn with obstacles creates much interest in terms of picturization. There was little possibility that Stanislavsky or Reinhardt overlooked these techniques.

By contrasting the various horizontal and vertical platform and crowd levels, each director tried to create an interesting and picturesque crowd setting. The Duke was a pioneer in working with this technique, and, in doing so, he ". . . freed the stage from the monotony of the never-varying rectangular setting."[71] His use of obstacles in an already limited space could be considered a minor use of levels.

There were basically three types of levels used for contrast: the human level, indicating the various body positions the crowd members would adopt; the material level, the levels that were built of platforms, upon which the crowd members were positioned; and the varying levels that were created by the positioning of props. The Duke believed that "in no well-composed picture would one find many figures standing together at the same height and in the same position."[72] He was the ". . . first [who] undertook to break up the flatness of the stage floor with steps and levels."[73] In contrasting the crowd with platforms and their own body positions, the Duke was aware that

> the lack of beauty resulting from poor placement of individual artists in relation to one another is especially disturbing in crowd scenes. The principal charm of grouping lies in a beautiful line of actors' heads. Just as uniformity of carriage is to be avoided, absolute uniformity in the height of those placed next to each other is to be avoided. If it occurs that several

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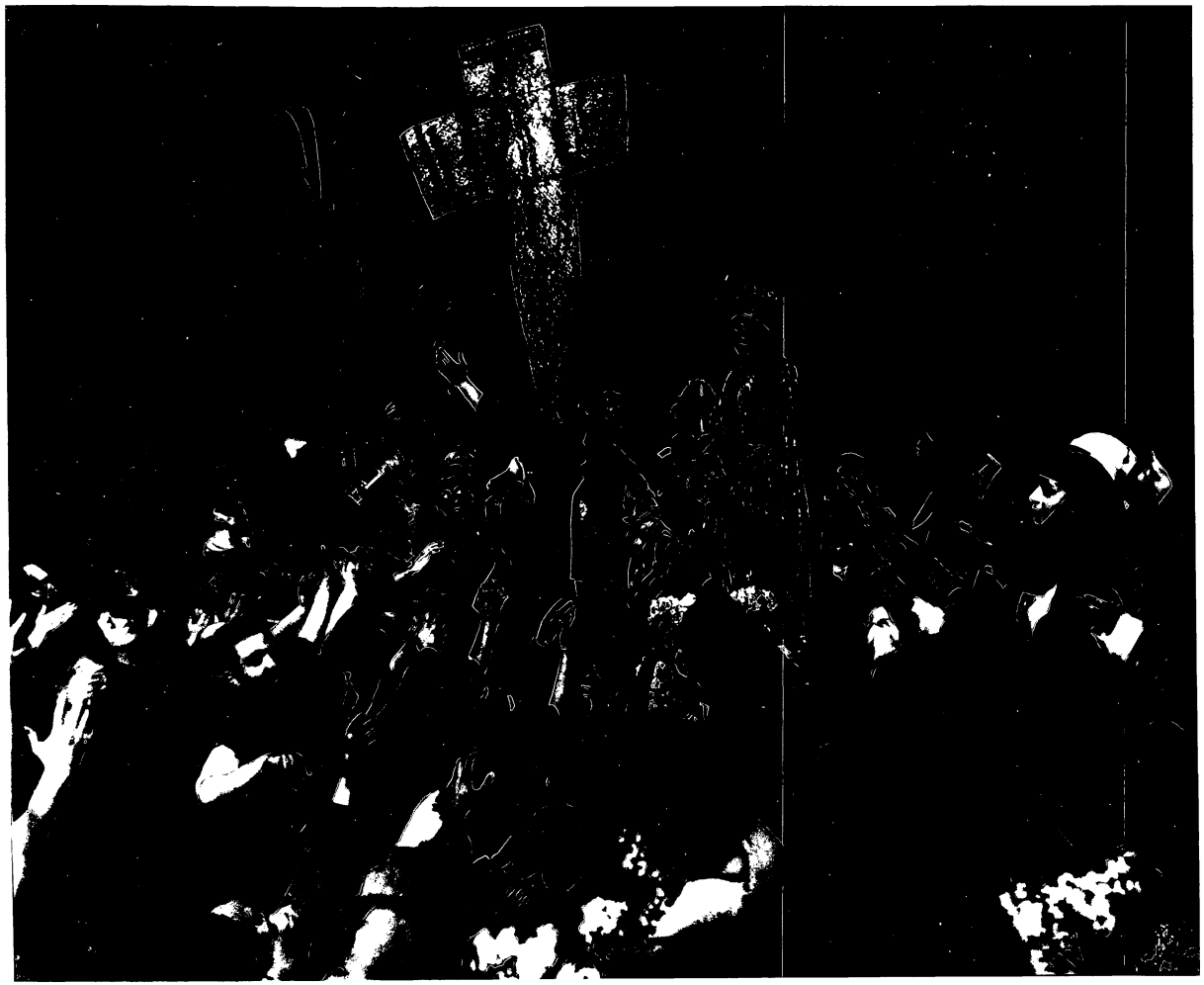
[71] Ibid., p. 115.

[72] Ibid., p. 46.

[73] Ibid., p. 115.

PLATE II



The Miracle, Scene I, Lines 103-106. Sayler, p. 257.

> of the same height are placed together, then they should stand on different levels. Depending on the situation, some might kneel, some stand, some bend over, others remain erect. It works out very well if an irregular semi-circle can be built around the person or the object on which the gaze of the group is fixed.[74]

The Duke did not limit the crowd to only the levels of the platforms. He created more levels by varying their body positions and sometimes stood them on top of one another.[75]

The Duke also recognized the use of props as another technique aiding the crowd in creating a picturesque setting. He realized that wide tipped vertical lances, pennons, staffs, banners, halberds, and spears, with their varying height, thickness, distance, and position, gave the crowd more stature and helped to create the impression of mass. The Duke stated that:

> Spears, halberds, lances, etc., should never be carried in a straight, upward position as are the muskets and swords of our present day infantry and cavalry. In the handling of old weapons, discretion must prevail: they should not be held at the same distance from each other, nor in exact formation. Here they should be pulled together, there spread farther apart, and held not perpendicularly, but obliquely and crosswise.[76]

In his crowd scenes Stanislavsky also used levels, platforms, and different body positions. This was seen in the second act of Karl Gutzkow's (1811-1879) Uriel Acosta. Here Stanislavsky used platforms, scattered in artistic array, to help create a party scene. With the crowds using these platforms for dancing and playing games a picturesque setting was created.[77] Stanislavsky was aware of the Duke's techniques of handling

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[74] Ibid., p. 46.

[75] Hirt, op. cit., p. 228.

[76] Grube, op. cit., p. 44.

[77] Stanislavsky, My Life in Art, p. 231.

props. In the 1903 production of Julius Caesar, Stanislavsky paraded the army of Antony before the audience,

> . . . having the armies appear and disappear to appear again. At the same time that the armies passed, other extras moving behind them carried a forest of spears, increasing the illusion of numbers in the crowd.[78]

From the two illustrations[79] contained within this chapter, which were taken from the New York production of The Miracle, it was evident that Reinhardt knew the significance of contrast in the form of platforms and varying crowd positions. By looking more closely, it can be seen that Reinhardt also made use of the proper carriage and placement of props within a crowd scene.

The Duke, Stanislavsky, and Reinhardt's work with the crowd did not terminate with the achievement of a picturization effect, for they also sought to bring alive the crowd stage picture with the use of sound.

There are two forms of crowd sound: noise and music. Noise consisted of murmuring, chattering, spoken lines which the playwright provided or which the director composed, cries, metal clashes, bells, bomb blasts, and myriad off-stage sound effects. Music consisted of singing, the use of instruments, and orchestration.

The Duke was the first director to make use of the sound effects of the crowd on or off the stage:

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[78]Ibid., p. 411.

[79]The photographs are from Max Reinhardt's 1924 New York production of The Miracle. They are taken from the private collections division of the University of Southern California Library, March 24, 1965.

> The importance of sound-effects on stage and especially behind the scenes--how much they added to an effect, to increase a mood, to produce an illusion, or, as one is accustomed to say today, to elevate the activity of the imagination--was first taught by the Meininger.[80]

During the rehearsals at Meiningen, Chronegk gave the actors all the vocal inflections:

> The leader is given cues and certain general directions from the script such as "noise, tumult, murmurs, cries, etc." These are then translated into words by the director and must be learned by heart. These interpolations should naturally be dealt with in various ways and should never be handled in unison.[81]

Each leader was responsible for the results of his group, and they proceeded in their work until it was perfect, in their estimation. From a personal interview with Rudolf Fuchs, an actor in the Meiningen company, Anne Louise Hirt noted that everyone memorized his cues ". . . and no two were permitted to execute their parts just alike. No two were allowed to stand, sit, talk, or move just alike."[82] In handling the group reactions so as not to make them appear too uniform

> . . . each group leader had slightly different cues from the other leaders, so that the murmuring, chattering, shouting, or laughing would not burst forth suddenly and in full volume, but would come about gradually and naturally, as in everyday life. Each group leader was likewise given a different cue for movement so that the crowd would not advance like soldiers upon command.[83]

Anne Louise Hirt quoted from Max Grube's Oh Theatre that the Meininger troupe frequently used the word "Rhabarber" to achieve a discontented

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[80]Grube, op. cit., p. 114.

[81]Cole and Chinoy, op. cit., p. 87.

[82]Hirt, op. cit., p. 222.

[83]Ibid., p. 223.

murmuring, grumbling sound. The Meiningers used different words, with different groups uttering a different word at a different tempo to simulate the effects of a mass of people murmuring and chattering.[84] In working with sound, the Duke also wrote parts for his crowd members. Often the Duke would

> . . . order . . . writers to write small parts with at least two pages of text--for example, for every soldier in Wallenstein's Camp--and . . . ordered the actors to memorize it and repeat it mechanically during the mob scenes. . . . By loud and soft intonations and by a definite rhythm to the movement of the crowd, they solved the general stage problem only in its external aspects.[85]

Stanislavsky was also aware of the use of crowd sound effects as noted in Act I, scene three, of Othello:

> Sailor: (within) "What, ho! what, ho! what, ho!"
> Shouts behind the stage: "What, ho! what, ho!"
> Mass scene: running and talking behind the stage.[86]

Stanislavsky followed the technique of writing dialogue for the members of the crowd:

> The dialogues of these parts were composed either from the dialogue of the play itself or from sentences which corresponded with it rhythmically. This method made it possible to transform the crowd instantaneously into different talking groups and, when necessary, into one single crowd animated by some elemental feeling.[87]

An example taken from the fifth scene of The Miracle indicated that Reinhardt too made use of off-stage crowd sound effects. He used off-

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[84]Ibid., pp. 223-24.

[85]Gorchakov, op. cit., p. 149.

[86]Konstantin Stanislavsky, Stanislavsky Produces Othello, trans. Helen Nowak (London: Geoffrey Bles Ltd., 1948), p. 52.

[87]Magarshack, loc. cit.

stage sound effects to indicate the approach of the revolutionary crowd to the Cathedral:

(275) Outside the noise increases, the roar of a wild mob.
(276) Rebellious songs are sung and accompanied by hoarse laughter.
. . .
(278) The storm bells ring in a wild medley.
(279) The whole house seems to shake to its foundations.
(280) Axe blows.
(281) A breaking of doors, a clatter of windowpanes from the throwing of stones.[88]

It is not known if Reinhardt also wrote dialogue for his crowd scenes, but because of his acquaintance with the Duke's methods, there is a possibility that he may have occasionally reverted to this technique.

The Duke occasionally introduced music to aid the action and characterization of the crowd. Often he had special compositions written to heighten particular crowd scenes.[89] He also used instrumentation to enhance the enthusiasm of the crowd and to create a particular crowd atmosphere. Much of the musical credit was due to the Duke's musical director Reiff, who had ". . . notable skill in arranging the instrumentation of older musical motifs in a uniquely archaic effect."[90] In a scene from Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller's (1759-1805), The Maid of Orleans, the Duke combined the sounds of the cheering crowd with the repetitious blare of the trumpets to create a particular effect:

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[88]Sayler, op. cit., p. 293.

[89]Grube, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

[90]Ibid., p. 115.

> The crowd grew more restless, the cortege[91] approached. The people became excited, noisy. The cortege was here. The crowd burst into cheers. At the sight of the Dauphin under the canopy the cheers rose. Trumpets repeated a strain from Brahms, rising in intensity with the rise in excitement. Jeanne appeared. The crowd broke into a frenzy of excitement, as the trumpets came out in full tone.[92]

> For the music accompanying the procession, parts of Brahms' Variations on Hayden's "Chorale of St. Antony" were selected--of course, in the simplest instrumentation. Because of the fact that its melody appeared again and again--it seemed never to stop, so to speak--the impression of a certain endlessness was carried over with respect to the procession, which appeared to last much longer than really was the case.[93]

Unlike the Duke, Stanislavsky was dubious about introducing music into the theater. He argued that to hire a musical director would be too expensive, and he doubted that one could be found who could understand the vigorous demands that a production placed on music.[94] Although Stanislavsky did make an attempt to use music in the 1898 production of Tsar Fyodor, he said that "the overture was excellent musically, but it did not help our dramatic purposes."[95] Instead of using instrumentation, Stanislavsky primarily used singing and occasionally a single instrument. In the second act of Uriel Acosta, he had the entire crowd

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[91]The cortege consisted of ". . . six musicians, following are twelve children in white, two heralds, fifteen halbardiers, six masters and professors, two magistrates; in single file Burgundy, Dunois, La Hire, Du Chatel, Chatillon, René, four large sacrificial offerings, six knights, twelve choir boys, two bishops with chalice, (four deacons), arch-bishops, the Maid of Orleans, pages of the maid with shields, the king under the canopy, eight attendants, and fifteen soldiers. In all there were one hundred and three taking part." (Hirt, op. cit., pp. 293-94.)

[92]Hirt, op. cit., p. 228.

[93]Grube, op. cit., p. 107.

[94]Stanislavsky, My Life in Art, p. 309.

[95]Stanislavsky, loc. cit.

talk and sing, building the action of the scene to a climax:

> The noise of happy holiday voices became one with the music, until all these sounds were pierced by the threatening sound of a horn accompanied by many wheezing little pipes and bass voices singing a Jewish melody. The merrymaking stopped for a moment, people remained petrified in their places, listening, and were then taken up in disorder, becoming more and more panic-stricken. They moved like a wave backwards to look into the distance. And Acosta himself and the family of Manasseh already felt what awaited them.[96]

Reinhardt had many musical directors.[97] Music was a vital part of his productions and especially of his crowd scenes. He felt that it was necessary

> . . . to render the atmosphere of a play not only through word, gesture, line and color, but also through sound, by laying musical stress on the voices of the masses and on sounds emanating from inanimate objects, by tuning them to each other and linking them to an inner harmony. In addition to accentuating through musical means such noises as the squeaking of a door on its hinges, the clatter of hoofs, the clash of arms, the roar of the sea--musical sounds can be used broadly to express the threatening growl of dissatisfied masses, or to intensify an atmosphere of awe, the source of which remains a mystery to the audience. What spectator realizes that the inexplicable, subdued trembling and vibration which he imagines he hears in his own awe-stricken soul while watching an inexorable tragedy, has been imposed on his imagination by the hautboy sounding its F sharp?[98]

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[96] Ibid., p. 231.

[97] Richard Strauss (1864-1949), Ernst von Schuch (1846-1914), Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921), and Einar Nilson (1881-), were among the many musical composers and directors that shared the musical burden in the Reinhardt camp. Einar Nilson was Reinhardt's ". . . musical adviser for over fifteen years. Nilson first came into Reinhardt's orchestra before the days at the Deutsches Theater. . . . Since then he has reorchestrated many scores, besides writing the music for Everyman, The Great-World Theatre, Orestes, . . . and . . . works by Shakespeare, Moliere and Strindberg." (Sayler, op. cit., p. 124.)

[98] Ibid., p. 129.

Conclusion

The Duke's leadership in forging new and concrete rules of crowd organization, management, rehearsal, and production techniques provided Stanislavsky and Reinhardt with the basic elements which they adopted and modified in order to create crowd scenes which complied to the demands of their own theater genre. Stanislavsky's crowd scenes reflected refined individual character analysis, whereas Reinhardt's crowd scenes reflected his virtuosity. The elegance and imagination that each of these men engendered while working with the crowd provided lasting recognition for their crowd scenes, and heightened the art of the theater.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

The Duke's introduction of co-direction aided him in fulfilling Wagner's Gesamtkunstwerk theory which he admirably employed in all of his productions. In order to achieve an artistic design and expression of the various forms of the theater, the Duke permitted his co-directors the utmost freedom in voicing their criticism and experimentation in all facets of the theater. The reason for this liberal application of co-direction was because of the Duke's awareness of the need for theater improvement, and, most important, because of the growing complexity of the theater, which made it impossible for one director to undertake the burdens of a production. As a result of this liberal attitude, the Duke established an atmosphere whereby the free spirit of artistic creativeness was uninhibited. This candid approach along with good constructive criticism enabled the Duke to maintain a sincere rapport with his co-directors. Thus his theater flourished as teacher and innovator, illustrating his theatrical genius.

Constructive criticism was a vital factor which enabled co-directorship to achieve its success in the Meininger Theater. By inviting constructive criticism from his co-directors, the Duke heard a variety of corrective suggestions pertaining to a particular scene in question, and he immediately chose the best method. Although the Duke possessed complete authority in making final theater decisions, he nevertheless made it a point to ask his co-directors for their opinions. By inviting criticism, the Duke never really excluded his co-directors from matters pertaining to important theater judgment. This approach kept the true spirit of co-direction, and enabled the Duke to achieve a balanced and perceptive crowd scene.

Without the application of co-directorship in rehearsing the crowd, the Duke would never have achieved such group excellence. Co-directorship allowed the Duke to devote more attention to working with the actors and molding the production into a unity of expression. Because the Duke was fortunate in finding such knowledgeable and dedicated co-directors, this system became the foundation of his theater. Through this highly organized structure the Duke was able to lead his little Court Theater throughout Europe and Russia as the preëminent example of theater perfection. His revolutionary ideas were emulated everywhere, but nowhere were they adopted with such enthusiasm and restraint than by Stanislavsky.

Unlike the Duke, Stanislavsky was not as liberal in granting his co-directors the necessary freedom for artistic expression and experimentation. The reason for this restraint was because he lacked mature and sufficiently trained co-directors. With Stanislavsky's fifteen years of directorial experience prior to the Moscow Art Theatre, he believed that no one among his co-directors had acquired enough theater knowledge to either question or criticize his work in the production facet of the Art Theatre. Stanislavsky felt that his co-directors had to be trained and made more increasingly aware of the demands of an Art Theatre and the peculiar complexities of each production, for Stanislavsky was just as concerned as the Duke in producing a Gesamtkunstwerk of each production. Sometimes he let his co-directors take rehearsals, and, after he became the literary and production leader, they conducted rehearsals in order to alleviate some of Stanislavsky's dual burden. However, his co-directors and their work were always subject to his

inevitable veto, and continuous corrections. It is possible that Stanislavsky occasionally consulted his co-directors as to particular ideas and directorial or artistic judgments, but it was equally as possible that he seldom adopted their criticisms. If anything, he explained why their ideas were not applicable and incongruous to the particular production dilemma. Co-directorship in the early stages of the Moscow Art Theatre was more of a teacher-student relationship, with Stanislavsky at the head of the class.

This teacher-student relationship was not present in the Meininger Theater and it was never really up-rooted from the Moscow Art Theatre, but rather became an inevitable shadow. Stanislavsky wanted not only to emulate the crowd scenes of the Duke but to elevate the acting standards of the Moscow Art Theatre. He thought that the only way to begin was to become the director in charge of all production elements, making sure that a minimum amount of mistakes were made. This is why his crowd rehearsals were apart from his acting rehearsals, and this is why he arranged his time so that he directed both rehearsals, while his co-directors took notes on what he lectured and directed to the actors and crowd members. Until the very last days of his work in the Moscow Art Theatre, Stanislavsky held ultimate authority concerning all literary and production decisions. And although his autocratic manner was somewhat mitigated later in his career, he nevertheless made it known that his nod of approval was always necessary. Reinhardt, too, was in a position of ultimate authority but his use of co-directorship was not as restrained as Stanislavsky's.

Like the Duke, Reinhardt gave his co-directors equal opportunity

to voice their criticisms and ideas. Often ideas and criticisms were altered, discarded, or renovated in order to achieve an artistic expression of a production. This atmosphere and intellectual exchange among his co-directors was the reason for the success and originality of so many Reinhardt productions.

Like the Duke and Stanislavsky, Reinhardt had charge of all decisions, but, to be sure, with so many ideas to be thought on before a decision was made, Reinhardt did not make them in an autocratic manner. On some decisions he was well advised and accumulated many suggestions before making a final judgment, and this communication between Reinhardt and his co-directors was an important element to the unity and success of a production. Co-directorship enabled Reinhardt to achieve a production excellence which was never before achieved in the theater, and this was especially evident in the elegance of his crowd scenes.

The co-directors drilled and prepared the crowd members to a degree of satisfaction so that all Reinhardt had to do was to mold them into a refined expression of their particular part in the scene and production. This Reinhardt did in a unique manner:

> The spark that illumined the company had shone [sic] first in Reinhardt's face, alive and expressive in a manner none of them had seen before and in a way that few actors could ever achieve. His whole body was transfigured, and they caught the reflection of that light. Rehearsals went on for hours. People who could have left the theater did not. Reinhardt was bringing us into an emotional homestretch, forcing us to match his own stride and to experience the same sort of creative ecstasy.[1]

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[1]Norman Bel Geddes, Miracle in the Evening, ed. William Kelley (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 295.

Co-directorship in the Reinhardt theater consisted of a gathering of some of the best known and authoritative theater leaders. These people of varied backgrounds and theater experience contributed greatly to the advancement of the modern stage through their experimentation. Reinhardt employed a co-directorship system because, like the Duke, he realized that it was humanly impossible to organize, direct, experiment, and mold all the various and complicated theater elements which composed a single production. Because of the demands of his productions and of the enormous crowd scenes that were used in some of them, co-directorship was a vital and necessary element in his theater.

In his application of co-direction, Reinhardt was much more liberal than the Duke. This was because there were more well trained and truly dedicated theater personnel in the mid-twenties than there were during the Duke's era. Theater productions were becoming more specialized, and Reinhardt was one of its primary leaders. Because of Reinhardt's freedom of experimentation and encouragement of intellectual exchange which he inspired among his co-directors, crowd members, and actors, he always attracted exciting and talented theater people.

Like the Duke, Reinhardt realized that no idea was absurd, foolish, or insignificant. For from such ideas something good always developed which, in turn, gave a new freshness to a Reinhardt production. With this open approach to co-directorship, Reinhardt was able to compose his repertory company from the talent of the theater world, whereas the Duke and Stanislavsky were limited to the members of their repertory company and, also, to another genre and theater era. Although Reinhardt was not of the same era as the Duke, some of his ideas of

theater production were, as also indicated in his application of the Duke's use of Mitmachen (coöperation).

The Duke employed a Mitmachen system to eliminate the star, to stimulate competition, and to develop a strong actor-co-director-director communication. Whenever the co-director gave lectures and examples of what was to be accomplished during a particular rehearsal, it was understood that the more experienced actors helped those who were not. After a scene or act was completed, the actors then offered their different ideas or suggestions of how to achieve a deeper sincerity of the portrayal of their character and his role in the scene. Frequently, the co-director-actor communication was serious, and occasionally it was humorous:

> "Now, just watch me," he said to some of the other actors, as Chronegk was standing in his vicinity and could hear him. "I know what the scene lacks."
> Like a hawk, Chronegk pounced upon him. "Man, if you have an idea, why didn't you say so? Speak up! What does the Fourth Act need?"
> "Applause, Herr [Mr.] Director!"[2]

Thus a dialogue was established which often led to experimentation. From this sharing and experimenting while participating in these crowd rehearsals, the new members were taught the basics of acting: movement, mime, gesture, voice, and diction. The new members were given an idea of the intellectual pursuit and physical application which was required in perfecting the theories and techniques of their art.

This concept of Mitmachen was possibly the first really thorough attempt to educate a group of young potential actors. They earned their

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[2]Max Grube, The Story of the Meininger, ed. Wendell Cole, trans. Ann Marie Koller (Florida: University of Miami Press, 1963), p. 38.

pay while they learned specific techniques, having the opportunity to practice what they acquired. Their success was proof of the Duke's Mitmachen approach, for it was this ingenious theater concept which provided the Duke with the necessary ingredients to achieve crowd scenes of excellence.

Stanislavsky also used the Duke's concept of Mitmachen and his reasons were almost identical with those of the Duke: to eliminate the star system, to possess control of the individual actors, and to stimulate competition. However, Stanislavsky did not concentrate on establishing the crowd as the core of his theater, nor did he make it obligatory upon expulsion from the Moscow Art Theatre that all his actors participate in the crowd rehearsals. This was due to the dearth of good actors to take the leads in his productions. It is assumed that they occasionally did help with crowd rehearsals as demonstrators of specific techniques lectured by Stanislavsky. The Mitmachen that was exchanged between Stanislavsky and his crowd members was a variation and refinement of the Duke's own creation.

When working with the amateurs prior to the days of the Moscow Art Theatre, Stanislavsky was always near the actors. It is very possible that he believed the best means to crowd perfection was to direct them himself. He felt that it was better to establish a director-crowd member relationship than a co-director-actor-crowd member relationship. Stanislavsky believed that if any inexperienced crowd member asked questions concerning characterizations of specific crowd movements, gestures, poses, and diction, he could answer them better than a co-director and better than any actor. This Mitmachen approach was truly

successful when Stanislavsky applied it with those members of the Second and Third Studios who composed the later crowd scenes of the Moscow Art Theatre.

As a teacher-director, Stanislavsky lectured and explained ideas, theories, and new techniques while directing the crowd scenes. With his system the actors were brought immediately into a deeper and more lucid contact with their characterizations, and his lectures and discussions were different than those of his earlier Mitmachen sessions.

In these earlier discussions, Stanislavsky did a great deal of explaining and demonstrating of crowd movement, and concentrating on the externals of characterization, a strain on his patience. Whereas with the latter crowd members who knew his system, he could delve into the psychological and become more analytical. It was apparent that lively crowd sessions were conducted and much of the exchange between director and crowd actors was imaginative and intellectually stimulating. The result of this type of Mitmachen approach was a deep and more personal rapport between director and actor. Even an actor who only had a walk-on role developed a character. The actor came to regard his role as something of artistic merit and significant to the composition of the whole crowd scene. With this system, Stanislavsky secured the foundations of the Moscow Art Theatre, refining the Duke's Mitmachen approach. Reinhardt too applied the Duke's Mitmachen idea, but not with Stanislavsky's personal contact.

Because of Reinhardt's large rehearsals and because of his dependence upon his co-directors to establish communication with the various crowd members, Reinhardt did not have to become involved in the

inner frustrations of a rehearsal. However, it was Reinhardt's attitude and enthusiasm for the production which provided silent encouragement for those extras of his crowd scenes. They were aware that Reinhardt, unlike the Duke, supported the star system, and they were also aware that he often chose extras to take starring roles. The hope of being sought out by the co-director to take a minor lead position in the crowd scene and then being singled out by Reinhardt for subsequent roles in his productions did much to encourage the individual crowd member to perform at his best.

The success of Reinhardt's crowd scenes was due mostly to this practice of Mitmachen. Like Stanislavsky, Reinhardt also refined some of the Duke's ideas in order to accommodate the diverse circumstances and the ever-changing demands of his theater. Stanislavsky and Reinhardt did little to change what was good in the Duke's techniques, but often added with gusto.

Crowd division, as introduced and practiced by the Duke, was a systematic breakdown of the whole crowd into smaller groups of presumably ten to fifteen members. This was a common practice among the Meiningers and it helped them to achieve a higher degree of unprecedented crowd realism. The Duke devised this concept of crowd division in order to insure attention to the individual member of the crowd, the potential actor, to facilitate crowd rehearsal, to eliminate error in individual crowd characterization, to establish communication between the experienced and inexperienced, and to assimilate crowd choreography quickly. Without this division of the crowd there would not have developed a Mitmachen system.

Mitmachen depended upon the proper cultivation of an understanding and communication between director, co-director, experienced actor, and inexperienced actor. The logic and order of the Duke's system of crowd division enabled him and his co-directors to save time. By working with a smaller group, the Duke was able to devote more attention to the weaker crowd scenes and those people who composed them. Crowd division resembled that of a corps de ballet at the barre where each member is watched closely to detect any flaw in technique, and concentration is placed on precision of the individual and its reflection in the harmony of the entire corps. The Duke concentrated on flawless technique, or as near as possible, in basic movement, gestures, poses, mime, diction, and voice, which were then woven into a harmonious crowd scene. It is presumed that it was the practice of the Duke not to maintain the same crowd movements and techniques for every production but to always change them and adopt new arrangements.

These new arrangements are known as choreography, but instead of the involved choreography of the ballet, it was involved choreography of the crowd: its movement and sound. Crowd division helped to solve major problems before they had an opportunity to blossom into embarrassing errors. The result of this practice of a crowd division was seen in the performance of the crowd as an organic whole which was accurate and precise in its imitation of true and believable characters in a particular play. This organic "liveness" of the Duke's crowd scenes would never have been accomplished if it was not for his attention to the perfection of the individual. Development of the individual character with its endowed movements, gestures, and realistic and peculiar attitudes

gave the crowd its organic life. This technique of crowd division was readily adopted by Stanislavsky, who centered his attention on the development of the individual crowd member but in more psychological depth.

Stanislavsky's indefatigable energy for the perfection of true characterization in his crowd scenes, and his desire for the permanence of the Moscow Art Theatre, led him to realize the importance of crowd division.

Emphasis was placed on the individual who composed the crowd, and Stanislavsky took a great deal of time in working with each crowd member. Stanislavsky realized the importance of this technique for its elimination of errors, and for introducing the young extras and the walk-ons to the basic techniques of crowd movement and characterization. Also important for Stanislavsky was the communication that was established between the inexperienced crowd member, his role, and the director. In the Society of Art and Literature and in the Moscow Art Theater, the crowd members were taught by Stanislavsky himself, but it was with those actors from the Second and Third Studios that Stanislavsky achieved a superior quality of crowd communication and of crowd division.

Here the communication between actor and director was almost innate. Each actor knew the Stanislavsky system, and they openly discussed and demonstrated some of their problems of characterization and movement. The idea was to be able to achieve such perfection of external detail of the character that the actor could then begin to determine his character's every action. Stanislavsky was always on hand to

question and help develop a more sincere and accurate character of any one particular crowd member who asked him for help, or anyone whom he thought was doing something incorrectly. From the intimate and detailed work with each member of the crowd, Stanislavsky had less difficulty in molding and unifying his crowd scenes than did the Duke. With the use of his system, Stanislavsky's crowd division was devoted to more subtle characterization and nuances of the crowd in general and particular details within the scene. In the acting school, each member was trained in movement, mime, gesture, affecting poses, voice, and diction. Stanislavsky was working toward more realistic characterization and a more truthful approach of character in terms of the production and the art of acting. With the acquired theoretical and practical schooling of these crowd members, it was easier for them to comprehend the varying choreography of each crowd scene and its change for every production.

Stanislavsky's crowd division technique produced a more intimate communication between actor and director. Because of this he devoted more attention to unseen details of characterization than did either the Duke or Reinhardt.

Reinhardt also employed the Duke's concept of crowd division, possibly for every one of his productions. If he did not, it would be hard to imagine the degree of perfection which was an understood element in every Reinhardt crowd scene. Crowd division was the quickest and most practical method of acquainting the many members of the crowd to specific crowd movements and crowd choreography for a particular play. Crowd division enabled Reinhardt and his co-directors to pay particular attention to individual problems, to eliminate mistakes, and to establish

communication. It must be remembered that Reinhardt's crowd scenes were composed mostly of extras, and that he did not have the time to enroll every one of them in an acting school, but used the various members of his acting school, along with some talented extras, to help demonstrate and explain the required crowd movements and voice fluctuation which were used for the ensuing production. Due to the rapid turnover, Reinhardt probably did not try to give his extras a complete grasp of the basics. Like the Duke and Stanislavsky, Reinhardt ran a repertory theater--a world-wide repertory theater--and time was an important element in his rehearsal schedule. Reinhardt stressed the urgency of learning the required crowd choreography and techniques for a particular production. There was not the nearness or the communication between student actors, extras, and co-directors as there was in the Meininger school, where time was of little importance, and the best actors all participated in the crowd, which is possibly the only and best way to learn.

Crowd division in the Reinhardt theater served also as a practical means for those of the acting school to put into practical application what they were taught in theory. The crowd scenes of the Reinhardt theater reflected a great deal of work. The fact that Reinhardt incorporated crowd scenes sometimes numbering as many as two thousand into his productions was itself a marvelous undertaking.

To facilitate these productions prompt books were used, wherein each director recorded his ideas for his co-directors and assistants.

The Duke's prompt book was his sketch pad, and he very seldom

wrote involved notes of direction for the mise en scène.[3] Sometimes the Duke wrote laconic stage directions or notes concerning the detail of a crowd scene beneath or along the sides of the sketch, covering particular details of stage movement or clarifying a particular section of stage design. He preferred the sketch pad to the written word because he reasoned that the sketch afforded more flexibility, and, because he was an artist, he best expressed himself and his ideas in this medium. The sketches aided individual actors who composed the crowd scene, and it presented the Duke with a concrete picture of what the externals of their character were to look like. This flexible medium also possessed an organic quality--an ever-changing picture--in order to arrive at the complete and integrated whole of the actors, crowd, and scenic design.

The organic quality of the Duke's crowd sketches is noted in the continuous changes these sketches underwent. These sketches, usually done during a crowd rehearsal, captured details of characters, their artistic balance, and distinguishing peculiarities between crowd members, actors, and the ideas in the scene. The Duke, as an innovator and an artist, was sensitive to the general shape of the crowd in terms of line, color, balance, atmosphere, and the mood these elements created. The sketches also provided the Duke with a permanent record of the rehearsal, which he then discussed and analyzed with his co-directors, enabling him to arrive at a complete and artistic crowd scene of any one particular

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[3]Whatever was recorded in terms of stage direction is almost entirely attributed to Paul Lindau who was Intendant at the Court Theater of Meiningen from 1895 to 1899.

play. This was one of the reasons why the Duke was able to produce excellent crowd scenes and spread his influence to other theater directors.

Stanislavsky did not sketch anywhere as elegantly as did the Duke because he was not an artist. However, he compensated by writing a highly detailed crowd mise en scène which was to give way to a more sophisticated approach while rehearsing the crowd scenes. His co-directors and assistants recorded what was physically and atmospherically achieved. After the rehearsals, Stanislavsky and his co-directors analyzed what was written before them. They then altered particulars in order to achieve the specific mood of the scene, and sometimes discarded completely what was recorded and began anew. Later in his career, Stanislavsky realized the necessity of crowd originality and thus moved toward an improvisational system in composing the crowd's mise en scène.

The Duke's improvisational approach was limited only to battle scenes, while Stanislavsky used this approach on the spur of the moment with those members of the Second and Third Studios. Naturally these crowd members had thoroughly comprehended his acting system. Because of this, the improvisational scenes produced an original quality. During the scene the co-directors recorded these elements in a prompt book which was then analyzed. The analyzation of the scene was to uncover the causes of each actor's actions which created the atmosphere and dictated the mood of the successful crowd scene. The scene was then altered, improved, and then re-enacted, with artistic and subtle variations which were recorded in the prompt book.

Stanislavsky's improvisational prompt book recordings were analogous to that of the Duke's sketches in that both were constantly undergoing changes in the space of the scene. What Stanislavsky improvised on stage, the Duke improvised on the sketch pad. The Duke had sketches to work from, while Stanislavsky conjured images of the crowd from the written notes of his co-directors. With the visual aid of the sketches, the Duke had an advantage over Stanislavsky regarding the revitalizing and reworking of the crowd scenes after rehearsals. Reworking the crowd scenes was a standard rehearsal procedure with Reinhardt while his prompt book also abounded with visual images describing each scene and line of the ensuing production.

The complexity of the theater and its numerable facets, which are so important for the perfection of a production, was one of the major reasons why Reinhardt insisted on compiling a prompt book. Because he worked in many genres, he realized that he could not detail and innovate all the ideas and particulars of a production. Therefore, he relied on the work of his co-directors. Reinhardt did not sketch, but his production book was filled with sketches and abundantly notated. These sketches were completed by his scenic designer and the notes were recorded by himself and all of his co-directors who were involved in the production. Each co-director had his prompt book and contributed his best ideas. Everything was then recorded into a master prompt book. The ideas contributed were not limited to a pre-production conference, but were continued until the production's première

During rehearsals, Reinhardt always discussed and conferred with his co-directors the ideas of a scene or the production. This was done

in order to find a simpler manner in which to present the production. During the rehearsals for the 1924 New York production of The Miracle, Reinhardt and his co-director, Norman Bel Geddes, often took their meals together: ". . . We took our meals together in the far corner of the basement grill of the Plazza, eating little and talking a lot."[4] Through constant discussion of the production, Reinhardt could eliminate mistakes and, at the same time, record pertinent notes into his prompt book. Furthermore, in discussing production ideas with his co-directors, Reinhardt, like the Duke and Stanislavsky, continued to fulfill the Gesamtkunstwerk theory.

It is not really known for certain just how or when Reinhardt employed an improvisational form. Improvisation with crowd members who were not thoroughly emersed in the art of the theater, as were those of the Duke and Stanislavsky, would have been extremely difficult. Because of the large crowd scenes and the demanding theater schedule, time was limited in the Reinhardt theater, and, for this reason, he seldom employed this dramatic technique, but adhered to a disciplined working schedule.

Discipline was the necessity whereby each director achieved a maximum of crowd organization, conducting an intelligible rehearsal and achieving maximum crowd technique. Discipline in the Duke's theater was administered in a military manner, and it was a revolutionary light for the modern theater.

Before the emergence of the Court Theater of Meiningen, little, if any, attempt was made to maintain discipline with the crowd and its

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[4]Bel Geddes, op. cit., pp. 295-96.

individual actors. The Duke had obviously witnessed some of these undisciplined performances, and was determined that nothing of this sort would disrupt his theater. The Duke's stern disciplinary measures enabled him to concentrate on the necessary work with the crowd--its perfection of the basic techniques--and bring about order to the theater in general. This way he raised the acting standards and re-established respect for the art of the theater. Such stern military discipline reflected the Duke's militaristic Prussian training and life, and this sternness was exemplified by many of the Duke's colleagues.

Stanislavsky followed the Duke's disciplinary procedures and applied them when directing those early crowd scenes of the Society of Art and Literature and of the Moscow Art Theatre. Stanislavsky employed this stern form of discipline because he wanted to teach the extras the basics of crowd mannerism, and, according to Stanislavsky, this was the only way to deal with a group of inexperienced extras. The Russian Theater was not familiar with such disciplinary procedures, and the long and laborious rehearsals which Stanislavsky first employed in the Moscow Art Theatre provided ". . . quite a contrast to the half-dozen rehearsals which the Maly,[5] . . ., was then devoting to its new light Frenchy fare."[6] The contrast was even made in America: "In New York a play is rehearsed for four weeks--perhaps six, if it is taken for a short trial run out of

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[5]Known today as the House of Ostrovsky, the Maly theater--meaning small--is the oldest theater in Moscow, Russia. It dates from the fourteenth of October, 1824, and, as it is today, was then the center of Russian culture and theatrical excellence, always attracting the greatest playwrights and actors of the Russian stage.

[6]Norris Noughton, Moscow Rehearsals (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), p. 53.

town before opening. In . . . [the Moscow Art Theatre] they rehearse from three months to eighteen."[7] Another reason for Stanislavsky's laborious rehearsals was that like the Duke, he too wanted to educate all those who came in contact with his theater. Although Stanislavsky emerged with splendid crowd scenes in Alexeiev Circle, the Society of Art and Literature, and the Moscow Art Theatre, his crowd perfection was not always established by his application of "brute" discipline.

Only after the actors of the Second and Third Studios became part of the Moscow Art Theatre did Stanislavsky mitigate his disciplinary measures. Because these crowd members knew his system and were dedicated to the theater, they were a discipline unto themselves, and they were serious students of the drama. While the crowd scenes of the Moscow Art Theatre underwent Stanislavsky's direction, these young actors were provided with the opportunity to practice and perfect their art. With this type of preparation, it was possible for Stanislavsky to surpass in acting and in realistic depth those crowd scenes of the Duke. Although Stanislavsky developed his acting system and mitigated his stern disciplinary procedures, like the Duke, he always remained the example of discipline, and everyone who was associated with the Moscow Art Theatre acknowledged his requests. The disciplinary procedures of Stanislavsky's Austrian contemporary were not as stern and were of an indirect and psychological approach.

Reinhardt's discipline of the crowd depicted a different theater era and a different approach.

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[7] Ibid., p. 63.

Reinhardt's psychological approach of crowd discipline reflected a refinement in handling people, and this was due to the cultural development of the individual crowd member and Reinhardt's own cultural maturity and theater foresight.

The Duke's example of militaristic crowd discipline was a revolutionary force upon Stanislavsky and other theater directors. Most all theater directors wanted to execute good crowd scenes and to do good theater, and the stern directorial approach was followed frequently. In his early days in the theater of Otto Brahm, Reinhardt became acquainted with these stern disciplinary procedures. Stern measures were needed to mold a crowd scene that was composed of the rising bourgeoise who knew little of the theater and even less of its discipline. But in Reinhardt's theater not always were stern disciplinary procedures required, for the crowd members were more familiar with the theater and with its artistic merit. Therefore, Reinhardt had to find another means of molding the crowd into a unit of expression, and, for these modern and somewhat informed crowd members, Reinhardt chose the psychological approach. This was no mere contribution, but, like the Duke's militaristic approach, this psychological approach was a revolution.

The psychological approach placed more emphasis upon the individual who was a vital factor to the success of Reinhardt's crowd, or to any crowd scene. Because of his work with large crowd scenes, Reinhardt thought that too stern a discipline would annoy, alienate, and confuse his crowd members. This was important when working with a new group of extras for almost every show, many of whom were foreign and could not speak or understand Reinhardt's Austrian German.

Reinhardt drew more from the individual creatively by appealing directly to him for help and by treating him as an artist. Crowd members were not required to follow a laborious pattern to develop their characters as was done by Stanislavsky, and this lessened Reinhardt's time with long and involved explanations of each crowd member's character. With a deadline facing Reinhardt for each production, it was impossible for him to develop characterizations as painstakingly as did Stanislavsky. Furthermore, this was, to some extent, the co-director's directing job. By encouraging each crowd member to develop his own character, Reinhardt immediately forced him to assume an important individual responsibility. This was important when working with a large group of extras, for it made them feel individual and important. This psychological technique helped to maintain control over large crowd scenes, and achieved some original shades of characterization, involving effective movement and mime.

The Duke regarded mimentic movement[8] as one of the most important elements of the theater and necessary for the success of any crowd scene. He used movement and mime to create the impression of picturesque and realistic crowd scenes. Movement and mime was also applied as a means to focus attention and to center the lead actor or actors of a scene. This enabled the Duke to shift attention from one place on the stage to another and to enable the crowd to economize on their movement in expressing the emotions and reactions of their character with greater control

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[8]Movement used by the Duke, Stanislavsky, and Reinhardt was always accompanied with mime. Movement may have been rehearsed separately, but it was harmonized with mime so that the actor could properly express his character's emotions and contribute towards the intensification of the dramatic action.

and realistic detail. The Duke also used movement and mime as a technique which gave the actor in the crowd scene something definite to do. Mime coupled with the actions and reactions of the crowd members with one another and with the principal characters, helped to establish a communication on stage that was readily accepted by the audience. This communication not only heightened the realistic acting of the scene, but also provided the audience with a better insight into the mood and the seriousness of the play. Such execution of movement and mime was seen for the first time in the twentieth century on the Meininger stage.

The Duke was the first in modern stage direction to realize the emotional impact that realistic crowd mime made on an audience, but how the Duke rehearsed specific uses of mime is not really known. He may have acquired a knowledge of mime from its use in classical ballet, from published material, and from studying the various crowd scenes in the many realistic paintings of the time. It is possible that he learned a great deal in the use of mime by observing people or members of his own company as they mimed during a rehearsal. The Duke's ability to realize the importance of mime enabled him to produce realistic crowd scenes in detail.

Stanislavsky followed the Duke's examples of crowd mimetic techniques, but he went a step further. All his work in detailing crowd mime was to make it appear more real and natural; for Stanislavsky wanted to arrive at a truthful means of stage expression. His recognition of the importance of mime is evident by the fact that it was taught in the first year in his acting school. This training helped the actors gain more confidence in themselves and in understanding their character's

role within the scene. Stanislavsky felt that if an actor could communicate his character's emotions to the audience, this would greatly help the success of the crowd scene. Mime was important among the actor's techniques, and it aided him to a more sensitive and realistic portrayal of his character. The exactitude of crowd mime indicated that Stanislavsky's crowd members possessed a fine understanding of this unspoken art.

In the Stanislavsky acting school, the exercises and combinations of classical ballet were taught to each crowd member, and the precision demanded of these balletic movements were witnessed in the crowd scenes. Before crowd members were permitted to take a speaking role, they had to express their characters through mimetic movement. After accomplishing these techniques, they were permitted to participate in the spoken dialogue of the crowd scene. These basic techniques were first used by the Duke, but it was Stanislavsky who developed them to an artistic exactness, enabling him to produce richer crowd characterizations. Reinhardt, too, used these basic techniques, but he did not have a permanent crowd with which to rehearse these elements with their repeated dedication as did the Duke and Stanislavsky.

Reinhardt was aware of some of the techniques which the Duke used in achieving a more realistic execution of crowd movement and mime. It is concluded that the involved training that Reinhardt received while in the Freie Bühne, under Otto Brahm, was similar to the involved training that the Duke subjected to his actors and crowd members. This is based on the assumption that Brahm witnessed some of the productions of Antoine, who, in turn, was first influenced by the productions of the

Duke. The movement and mime training which Reinhardt received under Brahm made him realize its value in guiding his actors to good characterizations and enhancing his crowd scene.

Reinhardt never disregarded the psychological naturalistic tendencies of characterization which were taught to him in the Freie Bühne and which helped him to later explain specific movements and mimetic techniques when molding one of his crowd scenes. Reinhardt's mimetic techniques were basically the same as those of the Duke and Stanislavsky. However, Reinhardt did not spend the time in rehearsing movement and mime as did the Duke and Stanislavsky. Not all of Reinhardt's crowd scenes were executed in the same realistic and detailed manner. This was due to the largeness of the crowd scenes, the limited time which was allotted for each production, and Reinhardt's aversion to realism as an excellent means of artistic expression.

Depending upon the specifics of a production, Reinhardt made mimetic movement free of unnecessary detail--straightforward, large, precise, and simple in its execution. This was quite different from the realistic mime taught in Stanislavsky's acting school and witnessed on the stage of the Duke.

It is doubtful whether Reinhardt used the fundamentals of classical balletic movement and classical mime as did Stanislavsky. This would have taken too long for his crowd members to learn. However, Reinhardt depended upon the basics of realistic movement and mime seen in everyday life, but altered it in order to fit the particular style of his production. Reinhardt most likely immediately rehearsed the

crowd with particular stylizations[9] of movement and mime, as most of the crowd were untrained extras. These had to be simple and direct gestures which aided the style of the production and heightened the meaning of the scene. While the Duke and Stanislavsky worked in the proscenium stage, Reinhardt primarily worked in the arena stage. It was here that movement and mime were distinguished from that of the Duke and Stanislavsky.

Sometimes the arena stage called for exaggerated, precise, and simple executions of mimetic movement. In Reinhardt's arena stage, it was the stylized use of movement and mime as opposed to the traditional[10] used by the Duke and Stanislavsky. With the large crowd, these movements and mimetic expressions were very effective and emotionally enticing to the spectators, and it had the quality of gaining the audiences' interest and attention. By experimenting with all kinds of theater genre, crowd movement, and mimetic expression, Reinhardt gave the modern stage dynamic crowd action, and he labored to uncover new methods of presenting mimetic action and stage picturization.

Closely associated with good movement and mime was the use of limitation of space. This helped to inhibit the crowd's entrances and exits, stage movement, and heightened the illusionary qualities of the

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[9]Stylization is, basically, a simplification of realistic stage techniques, and this simplification leads to an almost greater approximation of reality. Stylization borders the expressionistic which is diametrically opposed to all facets of the realistic stage.

[10]Traditional movement is considered to be the realistic movement introduced by the Duke and perfected by Stanislavsky. With its strict adherence to the development and portrayal of particular character detail, this movement requires extreme technique on the part of the actor. Traditional movement, like the classical ballet, is the root for the diversified stage movement which followed.

crowd scene. Limitation of space was another technique which was seen in all of the Duke's crowd scenes.

The Duke employed this technique because it was another means of providing the crowd members with something to do in terms of situation, place, and the individual crowd member's involvement in the scene. Whenever the Duke narrowed the crowd's entrance or exit, or placed objects about which the crowd had to move, over, or under, he provided them with an external means in which to focus their attention to the scene at hand. It also aided them in making the crowd scene more realistic. Almost all of these ideas were used by Stanislavsky and Reinhardt with each altering and adding ideas of his own in order to convey an illusionary or non-illusionary effect.

Stanislavsky's use of limited space enhanced the naturalness of his crowd scenes within the stage surroundings, and made his crowd members aware of their actions, and reminded them of their particular characterizations.

Limitation of space was used especially by Stanislavsky whenever he lacked enough crowd members to create a large crowd scene, and whenever he wanted to achieve a specific effect or call attention to the crowd in general. It was not until the crowd scenes of the Second and Third Studio that Stanislavsky did not really have to rely on external physical aids. The limitation of space as a technique to improve characterization, to cover the limited number composing the crowd, and to emotionally heighten a scene was regarded as common knowledge and practiced by most every contemporary theater director of the times.

When working with the crowd scenes in the realistic productions in the Kleines Theater, Reinhardt doubtless employed the same

limitation of space techniques and inhibited the crowd's movement in a similar manner as did the Duke and Stanislavsky. However, when he worked in the arena stage, the space limitations were not always as similar as were those of the box stage, or proscenium stage.

Because the audience either surrounded the actors or encircled them on three sides, Reinhardt's application of this technique in the arena stage was more difficult than that of the proscenium. The Duke and Stanislavsky limited their crowds to the wings and confined entrances and exits, while Reinhardt extended the crowd to the space of the entire theater. Reinhardt thought nothing of placing the crowd beyond the bounds of the stage and into the aisles, thus enlarging the space of the playing area to the entire theater. By placing the stage in the center of the audience, his crowd then emerged from behind the audience and down the aisles to the center of the stage. In doing this, Reinhardt was to achieve a new form of actor-audience communication in the modern theater.

Reinhardt believed in the communication value which emerged from this unlimited use of space. The idea of having the actor completely surrounded was important for the sharing of the drama between audience and actor and important for the success of the performance. In the larger crowd scenes in the arena theater, Reinhardt limited the space of the individual crowd members by placing them among many other crowd members and moving them down the narrow aisles and through the specially narrowed wings of the stage. The largeness of the crowd in the arena stage was in itself a means of limitation of space. As the crowd passed down the aisles, it enabled the audience to shed its identity as the placid theater

goer and identify with the passing crowd, becoming engulfed in the spirit of the drama. To limit the space of the crowd members, Reinhardt had some of them carry stylized props, wear stylized costumes, and adopt characteristic movements. This was done to achieve some specific crowd effect in the scene and, also, to control the crowd as a group. Another means of controlling the crowd was the use of levels. Reinhardt used them although the Duke was first to introduce them to the modern stage.

The Duke's use of levels, various body positions, and props, clearly indicated that he understood the value and necessity of contrast in order to convey an effective crowd scene. Levels were a vital part of the stage picture, and the Duke used them to break up the monotony of the flat stage floor, to define locale, to provide a variety of crowd movement, and to arrange the crowd in the most effective stage picture in harmony or in contrast with a specific scene. This latter effect was not accomplished until the crowd was carefully arranged on the levels.

On the levels the Duke could contrast individual group leaders, or emphasize the disagreement between various groups or the crowd in general against particular lead actors. The crowd was arranged on levels in a stagger formation in order to convey the impression of a large gathering. The individual crowd member's vertical or horizontal body positions in harmony or contrast to one another as situated on the levels, created a rhythmical line of the crowd as a group. This guided the audience's focus to the central character or action of the scene. This technique usually was facilitated with the help of props. The use of props aided the crowd to create a more interesting and realistic stage picture, and they helped to achieve a realistic crowd picture as specified by the Duke.

Crowd contrast was important because it provided the final external links for many individual members of the crowd and their characterizations, revealing the truthful spirit of the scene. The Duke's crowd contrast truly looked "like" a picture-painting and the audience enjoyed its aesthetic and realistic resemblance , primarily because these scenes were the first of their kind. It was this realistic resemblance of the crowd that most impressed Stanislavsky, who in turn created a more realistic crowd scene.

In order to convey a more accurate illusion of a crowd scene, Stanislavsky utilized crowd contrast. He observed the Meininger crowd rehearsals and attended their productions when they appeared in Moscow on their second tour of that city in 1890. Stanislavsky became enthusiastic about their methods and in his observations of life went a step further than the Duke.

From his observations of the crowd rehearsals and life in general, Stanislavsky knew that very few contrasting elements in life were portrayed "even keel" as they were on the stage, and the crowd scene was one of them, especially when the individuals were in contrast to one another.

The contrast between the individual members, color, costume, body positions, the varying levels of the platform, and the use of props was astutely observed by Stanislavsky and incorporated into his stage crowd scenes. He used contrast, to produce an authentic and naturalistic crowd scene of a particular era within the play, to cover some of the weaker and inexperienced actors, and to produce a never before equalled illusion of the stage crowd--a "slice of life." Stanislavsky wanted to

leave nothing to the audience's imaginations, and he wanted his crowd scenes not to be like a picture but "be" the picture. With improved painting and design techniques, Stanislavsky was able to arrange his levels to designate a more illusionistic scene which was to give way to more refined and mature crowd scenes.

The later crowd scenes of the Moscow Art Theatre were extremely flexible, and this resulted from the application of his system and his emphasis on stringent gymnastics, dancing, and fencing training. This helped the crowd members to use their bodies more adroitly and therefore to adopt many characteristic body positions. In this manner his crowd members achieved excellent characterization, and created a more enlivened and naturalistic crowd scene. Like the Duke, Stanislavsky also used props as a necessary additive.

Detailed props helped to convey an illusion of a realistic crowd, its mood, and its purpose in the scene. Stanislavsky, however, did not limit himself to work with the naturalistic and realistic crowd scenes, but he was most successful with these crowd scenes as was Reinhardt with his theatrical crowd scenes.

Reinhardt realized that contrast was essential for any crowd scene, and he did not hesitate to use the same concepts of levels, body positions, and props as did the Duke and Stanislavsky. Levels played an important part in his crowd scenes, and they were usually of myriad shapes and sizes. Levels were used to help the audience to focus attention to the scene, and they helped him to arrange scenic picturesque settings.

In the arena stage there was no proscenium, and the crowd upon levels or gathered about them formed a flexible picture frame. Body

positions of the crowd members were essential in composing an interesting and contrasting crowd composition. But Reinhardt did not have time to train all the members of his large crowd scenes in gymnastics and dancing, for his crowd members were constantly changing with every production, and time was always limited. Reinhardt had to use those talented extras or actors from his acting school to execute the more involved movements.

Reinhardt's crowd members relied on simple and unencumbered poses. Possibly their body positions were like blots of primary color on canvas, leaving the audience to fill in the details. It is presumed that this technique of crowd flexibility--its ability to move gracefully and integrate with one another--was more important for the crowd of the arena stage than it was for the crowd of the proscenium stage. Reinhardt demanded that his crowd be flexible because of the great distance to cover for entrances and exits, and because there was no proscenium. With no proscenium arch, the crowd had to form a live one. Not only were colors and costumes important in this task, but props were also important.

Props aided in conveying the impression of a larger crowd than was actually present, and they were not always like those realistic and highly detailed props used by the Duke and Stanislavsky. Some of Reinhardt's props were out of proportion in detail and size, and some were brightly painted. These exaggerated props, in size and color, added to the objective of the crowd scene. Sometimes the simple exaggeration of the props created an imagery which, by itself, commented on the action of the crowd scene. In this manner, Reinhardt eliminated some of the cumbersome realism, and gained in theater artistry and sophistication.

His crowd scene was a colorful and dynamic attempt to stimulate the audience into the depths of the drama.

Reinhardt made the crowd and audience one in sharing the emotion, the dialogue, the imagery, and the spirit of the drama. This was not the purpose of the Duke or Stanislavsky, who wanted the audience to witness the drama as though they were looking through a "peep hole." Reinhardt did not support this presentational style of theater. He also incorporated the use of music to strengthen the audience's impression of the size of the crowd and its overwhelming impact. This technique was also used by the Duke from whom Stanislavsky and Reinhardt were to get their examples.

The Duke was not only the first to introduce crowd noise as a vital part of modern production techniques, but also the first to introduce music, which was sometimes interspersed with crowd noise. The imagery qualities of noise helped to increase the dramatic illusion of reality. These impressions of varying sounds served as a transition technique. Noise also was used to centralize attention on the play's action, to comment on or to contrast action, or to build the action to a dramatic climax. Careful integration of noise and music was essential in creating a balanced crowd scene.

Music was usually in the form of singing or carefully orchestrated melodies, themes, and an occasional instrument or two played by individual crowd members. Because of the Duke's respect for the playwright, music was never fragrantly interspersed or adopted in the crowd scene unless the playwright specifically demanded it. The use of noise separate from music was practiced frequently. Music by itself or uncontrollably interspersed with the crowd scene would destroy the carefully delineated realistic crowd illusion.

Nevertheless, the Duke's ability to synthesize noise and music in an artistic combination with each other and other necessary crowd elements was truly a directorial first, emulated by Stanislavsky and surpassed by Reinhardt.

Stanislavsky copied the Duke's ideas of using crowd noise practically verbatim, for both men were determined to produce illusionistic and artistic expressions of crowd realism. It is safe to conclude that Stanislavsky's use of noise as a part of his crowd scenes were similar to those of the Duke. However, Stanislavsky did not consent to the Duke's liberal use of music as part of the crowd scene whenever the playwright required it.

This does not indicate that Stanislavsky refused to acknowledge the importance of music to the crowd scene, but because of insufficient funds in the Moscow Art Theatre at that time, Stanislavsky could not hire a good drama oriented musical director. Although Danchenko was an excellent musician, Stanislavsky did not think that he knew the demands that the theater placed on music. Furthermore, Stanislavsky and Danchenko were not the best co-directors when they collaborated on the same production.

If Stanislavsky hired a musical director, it would be another task of teaching him how to write musical scores for a particular drama so that the music did not overshadow the important scenes, characters, or the entire play. Because of the strong emotional and theatrical qualities of music Stanislavsky hesitated to adopt music into the crowd scene unless it emanated from the crowd and truly enhanced the realism of the scene. "Illusion" was the key word in formulating a crowd scene

in the Moscow Art Theatre, and music might destroy this crowd illusion if it was not handled properly. This delicate balance was imperative to the success of Stanislavsky's crowd scene just as it was to Reinhardt's crowd scenes.

Basically, Reinhardt's use of sound and music did not differ from that of the Duke. His use of noise was applied primarily in a theatrical fashion. Under Reinhardt's direction noise and music were helpful in creating specific crowd moods whether or not they emanated from the crowd or were simply used for effect.

Noise or music or a combination of both were used to encourage the audience to participate emotionally with the crowd. Created with animate and inanimate objects, noise stimulated the audience's perception of the anguish, joy, and unrest of the scene. From a wide range of instruments came crescendos and decrescendos which were particularly designed to replace the spoken word.

Music accompanied all of Reinhardt's crowd scenes. Its emotional and reverie-like qualities made it a means of emersing the audience into the drama. Instead of making music subservient to the drama as did Stanislavsky, Reinhardt made it one of the predominating elements. It was used consciously to enable the crowd and the audience to share the mysteries of the play.

Conclusion

The Duke's appearance in the theater was timely and fortunate for the modern stage. His genius was to serve as an inspiration, and to broaden the art of stage direction.

If the theater was to mature to its full expression, all facets had to develop to express the meaning of the author. Immediately, the Duke set out to reorganize rehearsal and production procedures. He made the actor conform to rehearsals and performances of discipline and Mitmachen (coöperation). Actors and crowd members alike were treated as professionals. Everyone rehearsed the new techniques of picturization, which included speech, movement, and character development, while new ideas of costuming and scenic design gave new expressions to the stage. These rediscovered theater elements were molded to express a Gesamtkunstwerk, and the audience and the critics were delighted to witness such complete performances. It was not long after the Berlin debut that the influence of the Meininger Theater was experienced throughout Europe and Russia and later in England and America.

Stanislavsky was influenced by the Duke's crowd directing ideas, for he witnessed some of his performances and attended some of his rehearsals. The Moscow Art Theatre was founded on the basis of the Duke's techniques of organization, rehearsal, and production. These techniques provided Stanislavsky with the necessary foundation which was needed to present performances of excellence and thus establish the permanence of the Art Theatre. With these techniques firmly implanted and followed, Stanislavsky was able to refine some of the Duke's crowd innovations and further the development of his acting system.

Reinhardt's knowledge of these crowd procedures was not acquired first hand as was Stanislavsky's. From those actors and regisseurs of the Court Theater who sought to preserve the Duke's ideas in book form, Reinhardt learned a great deal. These basic crowd procedures are seen

in almost all of Reinhardt's productions during his thirty-eight years of theater direction. Thus, the credit not only belongs to the Duke who created new crowd methods but also to those who have had the wisdom to use and to refine them.

Because of the difficulty in establishing a repertory theater of quality in America, theater directors and their entrepreneurs might do well to look back and study in depth those repertory companies of the Duke, Stanislavsky, and Reinhardt just as the modern European stage has done. Not that old ideas must be revised, but from old ideas new ones flourish.

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The photographs in this work are from The Miracle, New York: 1924 Century Theater production. They were taken from the album which was presented to Helena Thimig-Reinhardt by Morris Gest. The pictures are used with the full consent of the Special Collections Division of the Library of the University of Southern California, and with full permission of Hope T. White of White Studios, 26 West 58th Street, New York 19, New York.